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NEWSPAPER

Progressive Labor Party Formed

By VICTOR RIESEL

Money—lots of it—appeared to be the least of the problems of the "Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist" movement launched in New York City on April 18 as the Progressive Labor Party (PLP).

From somewhere came ample funds to keep 110 delegates at the founding convention for a week at the rate of almost $2,000 a day in expenses.

From somewhere came additional thousands of dollars needed to bring in party activists from California, western New York and Kentucky.

From somewhere came funds for the printing and distributing of tens of thousands of leaflets, booklets and a 48-page convention discussion document in New York and Washington, D.C., over the April 17 weekend.

And whatever the mysterious sources are, they're also providing thousands of dollars monthly for maintenance of a network of headquarters. The PLP people claim headquarters in Berkeley, San Francisco, Chicago, Buffalo, Louisville, Ky., and Williamsport, Pa. These, in addition to three major offices in New York City.

Apparently there is no doubt of the gold flow. PLP leaders are planning to publish not only a Marxist-Leninist quarterly, a national newspaper, and a series of anti-imperialist booklets, but also a slick magazine fashioned after the pro-Chinese Communist *Revolution* now issued in Paris for the European continent.

Thus there is no reason to doubt that the avowedly Communist Progressive Labor Party—pro-Maoist and pro-Castro—will find the money for its action program.

And those of us seeking clues to this first direct action planned by this tough coalition of young people find the specifics in the militant, disdainful program advocated by the PLP's most powerful leader.

He's the 32-year-old William Epton, arrested last August on charges of advocating criminal anarchy. His arrest came after the Harlem riots. His aggressive eight-point action program should be a signal to white and Negro communities alike.

The tenor of his words, the implications of his call to action can be measured by his feeling that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King is too moderate to be followed by the Negro people.

Epton, a vice president of the new party, calls for the launching of "self-defense units" to protect the organizations and activities he outlines from "attacks by the ruling class and their representative arm—the police and other para-military units."

Epton demands the revival of something not encountered inside labor for decades. He urges the creation of trade union caucuses or organizations within the trade union movement that would "represent the interests of the black workers and guarantee them (the interests)."

He calls for tenant, house and block committees to struggle in low income areas.

In the image of the depression-day militancy, he urges organization of unemployment councils to demand jobs and bring the unemployed together.

He wants "political councils" set up to "take effective control of their communities."

He demands immediate establishing of "farmworker organizations of sharecroppers and tenant farmers" so they could "demand agrarian reform and land to the landless."

Then Epton wants all these units to "come together into a nationwide coalition" in an "all-black liberation front led by the black working class."

Wherever Epton spoke of his action program he was cheered by the PLP people. There can be no doubt of the organization's efforts to concentrate on farm and factory labor.

The president of the new party is Milton Rosen and the other vice president is Morton Scheer—both former steelworkers from Buffalo. There are units on the waterfront and on the rails. These are made up of young people. The party is made up of young people.

In days of old they would have made up the youth movement of the American Communist party. But now the Moscow-line Communists are older and disinclined to go in for the direct action which they describe as "infantile leftism."

By actual count, there are some 1,500 known activists in the founding party. But, in the words of one of the government's highest security officials, they are "dedicated to stirring wildcat action in the factories and on the streets. They are a very successful and militant band of young revolutionists and have had ample money since the first day they went into business as the Progressive Labor Movement back in 1962.

"They don't just pass resolutions. They're zealously working for a revolution.

"They won't make it, of course, but the trouble they make will give this country real difficulty."

(Distributed 1965 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

More on PLP:

• In a statement approved by the new party's national committee, PLP leaders have charged that the "most hated government in the world today is the government of our country." They insist that "the initials USA, which once stood for hope, have replaced the crooked cross of Nazi Germany as the symbol of tyranny and death."

• A New York grand jury is now investigating the role played by PLP leaders in the racial riots that rocked New York last summer. Several PLP members have been jailed for a refusal to testify and further indictments are expected. A spokesman for the New York district attorney's office says that PLP leaders vowed to "kill judges and policemen" during the riots.

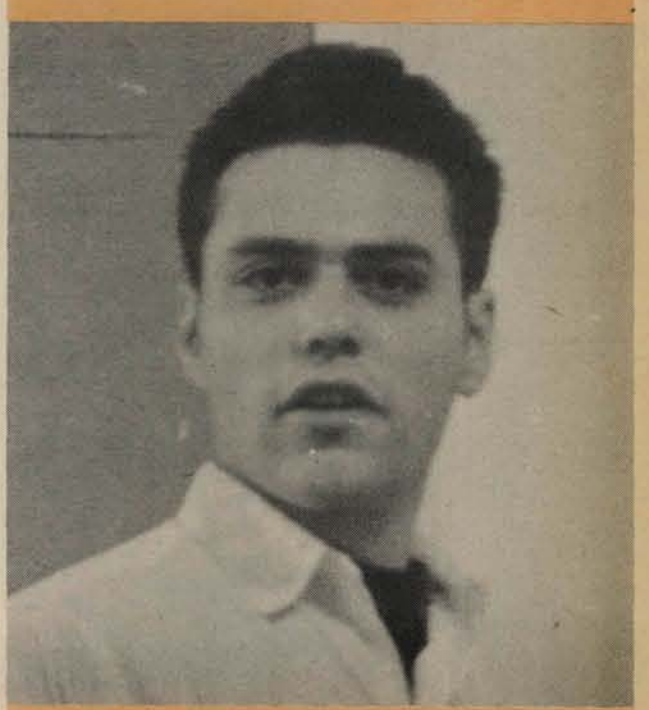
• A defector from the leadership of the Progressive Labor Movement will shortly reveal the inside workings of the pro-Peking group. He is known to have traveled to Castro Cuba with PLP leaders and to have edited the movement's publications.

• PLP leaders have been in close contact with Robert Franklin Williams, the American defector who now broadcasts incendiary broadcasts over Radio Havana. Williams, a militant black nationalist, has within the past year traveled to both Red China and North Viet Nam.

• PLP members are schooled in both judo and karate. Manuals smuggled into this country instruct members on the manufacture of "Molotov cocktails," gasoline bombs and other terrorist devices.

William Epton is one of the PLP's two vice presidents.

Walter Linder is managing editor of the Progressive Labor Movement newspaper.



Jacob Rosen is a member of the PLP's National Steering Committee.

YOU CAN START A TIDAL WAVE

of Conservative Understanding and Action. See page 16

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Slain Soldier's Letter

'What We All Must Do'

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

"I don't want my sons to fight a war I should have fought. I wish more Americans felt that way.

"I'm not a warmonger; it will be me who gets shot at. But it's blind and foolish not to have the courage of your convictions."

The brave man who wrote the above words to his wife last month is now dead. The plane piloted by Navy Lt. William R. Roark of Omaha was shot down over North Viet Nam and he parachuted, presumably lifeless, into the sea.

Unlike some other Americans Lt. Roark thought the war had a purpose. He thought resistance to communism

Lt. William Roark (USN) was killed in action over North Viet Nam last month. He will have died in vain if the faint-hearted have their way.

in that far corner of the world was a cause worth dying for. He said in his letter to his wife:

"I will not live under a totalitarian society and I don't want you to, either. I believe in God and will resist any force that attempts to remove God from society, no matter what the name. This is what we all must do if we believe in what the Founding Fathers stood for."

The words should bite into the conscience of every American, and especially those who think there is some easy way out of world problems, some compromise, some way of buying off the enemy.

The war in Viet Nam isn't worth the life of a single American boy, says Sen. Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska). The faint-hearted echo his words. If you agree with them, then the sacrifice by Lt. Roark and some 400 other Americans who have died in Viet Nam has been without purpose.

President Johnson, in holding out the olive branch to the North Vietnamese recently, failed even to mention that theirs is a Communist regime working to establish a totalitarian society in South Viet Nam and all of Southeast Asia.

To the North Vietnamese that is what the war is all about. They are seeking the destruction of the non-Communist government of South Viet Nam and the forced withdrawal of American troops there.

Bill Roark, the intelligent and high-minded young Annapolis graduate, could see what was going on. He thought the cause in Viet Nam was worth his life, and he said so.

Part of the legacy of Lt. Roark are his words: "This is what we all must do . . ."

Have the rest of us the will and courage? Are we Americans willing to fight this thing through?

The gallant young Navy flier from Omaha stated the challenge.

☐ ☐ ☐

MORE NCC POLITICS—"During the pre-Easter week, the National Council of Churches was busy playing politics again with the impression that it speaks for nearly 40 million Protestants. The National Council was opposing a proposed U.S. constitutional amendment on reapportionment of state legislatures and was trying to get the House Judiciary Committee rather than the House Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate the Ku Klux Klan. What does this have to do with legitimate church business? No church we know of has taken a stand as a congregation or as a denomination on the reapportionment amendment or on what committee ought to probe the KKK—yet the National Council uses the money of church members in its political lobbying and has a powerful voice because of the implication that it "speaks for" the members of the denominations that support the NCC."—From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

☐ ☐ ☐

"PEACE, INDEED, can be obtained, at least temporarily, by any nation if it is prepared to yield its freedom principles. But peace at any price—peace which passes the dreadful finality to future generations, is a peace of sham and shame which can only end in war and slavery."
—Gen. Douglas MacArthur

Endorses Increase

Humphrey and the Minimum Wage

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Hubert Humphrey's assignment in the Johnson Administration might candidly be defined as vice president in charge of keeping labor leaders, liberals and left-wingers happy. He delighted them all the other day by letting on that he was "quite confident" Congress will raise the federal minimum wage, which is now $1.25 an hour.

"Minimum wage improvement," he said, "is a good thing for the country."

This was taken—and no doubt intended—as a hint that the Administration will give in to the AFL-CIO and support another increase in the minimum wage. Gov. Rockefeller and Mayor Wagner in New York have already spoken up for a $1.50 minimum, but the AFL-CIO is holding out for $2, twice what the minimum was only five years ago, and for a 35-hour week.

Its congressional stooges, such as Jimmy Roosevelt and Adam Clayton Powell, are already beating the drums for $2. Powell, the truancy champion of Congress, happens conveniently to be chairman of the House Labor Committee.

So far, Mr. Johnson has wisely refrained from backing either proposal. He has confined himself to suggesting that the present minimum wage be extended to include about two million workers not now covered.

But he painted himself into something of a corner by declaring, in his "war on poverty," that any income below $3,000 spells poverty. Mr. Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, hastened to point out that a wage of $1.25 an hour yields only $2,500 a year and that the Administration was thus countenancing with one hand what it professed to abhor with the other.

An hourly wage of $1.50 would yield a poverty wage, he said, and "an employed person is entitled to something better than a poverty wage."

Thus one folly is leading Mr. Johnson into another. A further increase in the minimum wage is the last thing the country needs. This is conceded even by academic economists who are usually ready to support anything that smacks of "liberalism."

In its annual survey of college economists, the Chase Manhattan Bank asked 500 of them what they considered the leading problem of the day, and the most common reply was unemployment. The bank asked what they thought caused this unemployment, and one of the two most frequent replies was

Rep. Jimmy Roosevelt (D.-Calif.) is pushing for a $2 minimum wage.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey says he is 'quite confident' Congress will raise the minimum wage.

structural problems, including minimum wage laws.

The present minimum wage of $1.25 has simply wiped out the job of everyone who is covered by the law and who isn't sufficiently skilled to be worth $1.25 an hour. The chief victims have been Negroes and teen-agers, the very groups which the Administration professes to be most worried about. A further increase would simply throw more people out of work. Extending coverage of the present law would have the same effect.

Apparently Mr. Meany is willing to sacrifice the jobs of thousands of unskilled, nonunion workers in the hope of picking up a few jobs for union members. He as much as said so himself in 1961: "If an enterprise cannot survive except by paying wages of 75 cents or $1 an hour, I am perfectly willing for it to go out of business—it's not worth saving at that price."

Perhaps Mr. Meany would care to explain his position to those who have lost their jobs because of the present minimum wage or would be thrown out of work by a $2 minimum. Or has Helpful Hubert fixed things so that the Administration will share the blame and Mr. Johnson will do the explaining?

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LAWFUL SLIP—"In his voting rights message, President Johnson said he would send to Congress a 'law' to correct the situation. The slip of the tongue did not go unnoticed by Republicans. But the way the President has been pushing legislation through Congress, they now are wondering if he really did slip in the first instance."
—By Joe Fisher in the Rockford (Ill.) *Morning Star*

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Anti-Communists Being Ousted From South Vietnamese Army

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

While our Marines hit the beach and G.I. Joes patrol Saigon's streets anti-Communist officers are being given the heave-ho inside the South Viet Nam army. The purpose is to put us in a race to nowhere.

Native heroes are abundant throughout Vietnamese contingents from sergeant on up. Their hearts beat true. But they support our forces under dangerous disadvantages applied behind the scenes.

The same Buddhist extremists are eliminating them who helped mislead President Kennedy into demanding the elimination of the Diem regime, only to see the government go from bad to worse ever since.

American authorities know their hatchet man, but what can we do about it?

His name is Gen. Nguyen Chan Thi —a man as full of Red Viet Cong affiliations as a baseball crowd is of peanuts. Yet this stooge of the enemy recently has been placed in command of Saigon's national police.

The untold truth, among many other untold truths about this war, is that Thi's elevation coincided with the horrible bombing of the American embassy. U.S. authorities couldn't even find him during the height of the bloody crisis.

Finally it developed that Thi was in a meeting with the Buddhist monks. Our chief protector sat grinning like a hooky-minded schoolboy in a musty hallway scented with stale chicken soup and creosote. We just got a "so solly" and that was that.

Nor was this the first time. Thi's performance was identical in Hue during last winter's anti-American demonstrations there. He yawned through that event, too, carefree as a contented cat and looking a great deal like one.

There are about 9,000 men in the Vietnamese civilian police force. The department includes some 600 secret security agents. Informers, in turn, outnumber the leaves on the trees. The most popular moon-lighting job in the area today is to be an informer for both sides at the same time. It's also the safest, come what may.

Naturally, the whole security setup is a sieve under these conditions, and it's utterly impossible for our own battalion of 600 U.S. military police to catch up with the traitorism. Thi's interrogation headquarters and central registry might as well be in Red Hanoi.

Able correspondent Richard Critchfield nevertheless reports a paradox regarding civilian crime. It's amazingly low. Saigon's population is 1.8 million, a city as large as Detroit. Critchfield finds that in March there were only three murders reported, two rapes, two major robberies, two kidnappings.

The Viet Cong apparatus that calls the tune for Thi and out-slugs our American security is centered in the Khanh Hio district slums. It's backed by plenty of money, for the Reds occupy about two-thirds of all South Viet Nam and tax the population unmercifully.

American dollars are fed out, too. The Red Chinese obtain mountains of our currency on the Hong Kong exchange. They also use Hong Kong to obtain and distribute gold. This is the clincher, for the entire Orient has no comparable confidence in any paper money, ours included. Peking is even distributing authentic gold Napoleons of 1810 among its agents, some of them cut in half.

Distribution is made through at least 10 known Red Chinese cells in Saigon's Cholon district. In contrast, American officials know of no purely Russian cells. The moneybags that sap our security are strictly Mao Tse-tung's, the Viet Cong extortions from the frightened people and such funds as Castro has sent in from Cuba.

However, opportunism more than money is the pressure behind the heave-ho of anti-Communist officers in the defending army, sparked by the Buddhist extremists. Like Thi himself, the commanders firing many of our supporters are opportunists who simply fly to the side of the victorious. Buddhist extremists don't think the United States will be victorious and neither do they.

If the tide turns this whole motley collection will turn with it. Meanwhile, it is just nonsense for U.N. Secretary General U Thant or anybody to suggest that the Reds are ready to talk about an effective peace. Victory has its own smell, and they smell it.

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A Viet Cong guerrilla comes to the end of the line, but Mao Tse-tung's spy network has Vietnamese Reds thinking in terms of victory.

U.S. Pacifists Have Printed Revealing Letter

By ALICE WIDENER

There has come to my attention a most revealing letter dated April 2, 1965, sent out by the Socialist pacifist organization, the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). The letter is signed by Alfred Hassler, director of FOR's field work. During World War II he served three years in Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary, his claim as conscientious objector having been legally denied.

The FOR letter, now being widely circulated among leftists, bears the salutation "Dear Friend" and a postscript asking for funds for FOR so it can intensify its campaign against "intensification" of the Vietnamese war.

"Knowledgeable people in government," asserts the letter, "warn that the 'hawks' among the President's advisors are in the ascendance." FOR also alleges, "There are some reports that the President is not fully aware of the extent of public disagreement with its (sic) policies. In any case, protest must continue and be intensified."

The pacifist organization further reveals, "The fellowship already has undertaken various efforts in this direction. It has solicited support of a letter to the President. . . .from some 60,000 clergymen of all faiths, and will publish it as an advertisement in the New York *Times* on April 4. It (FOR) has polled another 100,000 Protestant clergymen on their attitudes."

A long-time leading light of FOR and its present secretary emeritus is Rev. A. J. Muste. He has been publicly criticized by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, for support of pro-Communist activities.

According to FOR figures, a total of 160,000 clergymen have been polled in the effort to stir up opposition to President Johnson's policy in Viet Nam. It is very expensive to send out a mailing of 160,000 pieces. First class postage alone, at 5 cents per letter, would amount to $8,000. The letter of April 2 shown to me was in an envelope with a 5-cent stamp. But even if the postage for 160,000 letters were at bulk rate, the costs still would be in the thousands of dollars. Moreover, the New York *Times* full-page ad cost thousands.

When it appeared on Sunday, April 4, it stated peremptorily and rudely, "2,700 Ministers, Priests and Rabbis say: Mr. President: In the Name of God, STOP IT!" The ad did not say "Dear Mr. President." On behalf of the 2,700, the ad said, "Mr. President, every one of us is deeply, personally dismayed by the role the United States is playing in Viet Nam." Not a single word in the ad expressed dismay at the terroristic, murderous role the Reds are playing in that unhappy land.

The FOR letter is unintentionally revealing of a most significant fact. Out of 60,000 clergymen solicited as prospective signers of the ad rebuking our President, only 2,700 responded, or 4.5 per cent.

Where are the other 95.5 per cent of the ministers, priests and rabbis in our country? Why don't they speak out in support of our policy in Viet Nam? It would seem that at least 10 per cent of the 60,000 clergymen solicited by FOR would wish to express publicly their assent to our freedom fight in Viet Nam and their dissent with the 4.5 per cent who went along with FOR in opposing U.S. foreign policy.

Another revealing aspect of the FOR letter is the false claim that President Johnson isn't aware of "the extent of public disagreement" with his Viet Nam policy. The letter implies this opposition is widespread; yet FOR itself unintentionally reveals how narrow it is. Nobody could call a figure of less than 5 per cent an impressive one.

But Socialist pacifists are what they are, and their pet propaganda trick is to pretend that they are a majority instead of a very small minority.

There is something very ugly in the "Name of God" ad by the Clergymen's Emergency Committee for Viet Nam of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which sponsored the ad. It reminds me of the Socialist pacifist propaganda put out during the Hitler-Stalin pact, a propaganda that went on and on until Hitler invaded the Soviet Union and then immediately turned into a bellicose demand for an Allied "second front."

It would be interesting to know who put up the money for the FOR direct mail solicitation of 160,000 clergymen. Perhaps the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee or the House Committee on Un-American Activities could find out.

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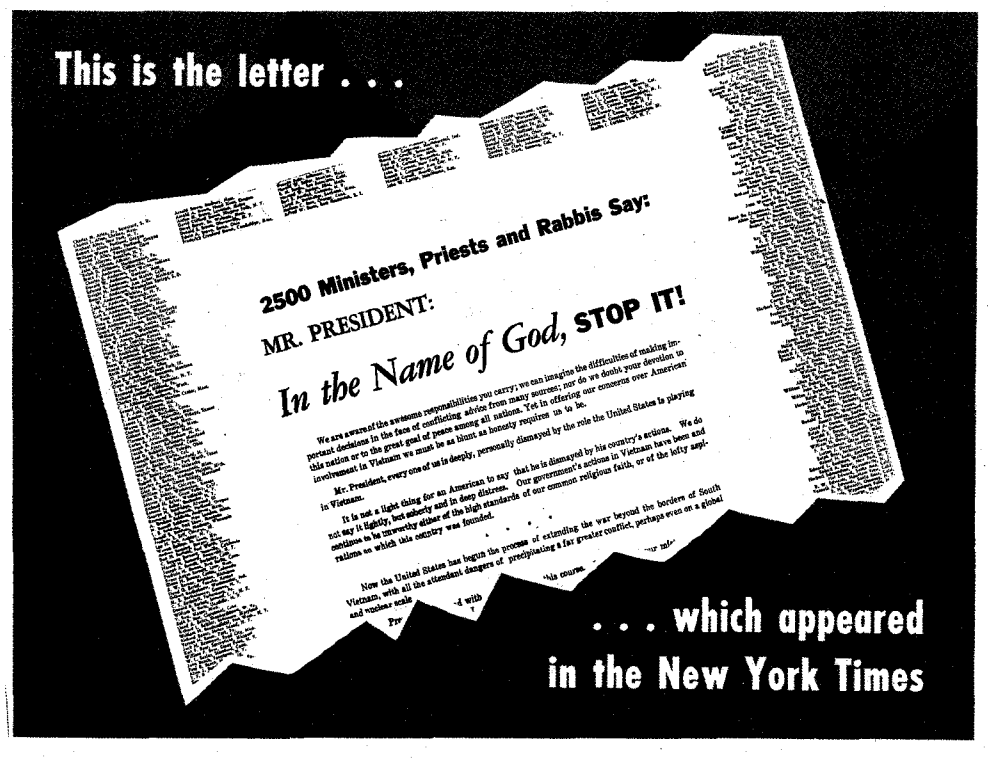
This is the letter . . .
2500 Ministers, Priests and Rabbis Say:
MR. PRESIDENT:
In the Name of God, STOP IT!
. . . which appeared
in the New York Times

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• This is top secret stuff, but Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, who has long opposed production of an anti-missile missile, has had one of his basic arguments cut out from under him. McNamara has contended that any such defensive missile would be ineffective because it could be easily lured away by Soviet decoys. But new technological knowledge now makes it possible for an anti-missile missile to avoid the decoys and zero in on the missile containing a live warhead.

McNAMARA

• *Yale Professor David Rowe, one of the country's top experts on Southeast Asia, is sharply critical of LBJ's Baltimore speech on Viet Nam: "There is a totally dismaying parallelism in the so-called carrot motif in the President's speech, with the pre-World War II arguments of the appeasers, namely that if we can only change Hitler's Germany from a have-not nation to a have country (at the expense of other countries, of course), that Germany's aggression would no longer be necessary, and being unnecessary, aggression would be abandoned."*

• LBJ's special envoy to Indonesia, Ellsworth Bunker, ended his presidential mission to appease Sukarno by being snubbed. Not only did the Indonesians refuse to show up at the airport when Bunker left but as the envoy was departing, Sukarno gave a royal welcome to arrivals for the 10th Asian-African conference in Bandung, where Sukarno later launched a vicious anti-American assault. In spite of this diplomatic failure, American aid will continue, though in reduced form and even though Sukarno has said we can "go to hell" with it. Bunker is the same man who arranged the diplomatic deal in which Dutch New Guinea was turned over to imperialist Sukarno in spite of the wishes of the native Papuans.

SUKARNO

• *The United Arab Republic's Red-flirting Gamal Abdel Nasser has received an unexpected black eye in his threat to recognize Communist East Germany in retaliation for Bonn's establishment of full diplomatic relations with Israel. Diplomatic Row notes only three of the 13 Arab nations may recognize the puppet Ulbricht regime, in a sharp repudiation of Nasser's Arab world leadership.*

• Illinois' boy wonder Charles Percy, who was defeated in his try for the Prairie State governorship last year, is on the comeback trail—as a "moderate." He reportedly is undecided whether to challenge veteran Democratic Sen. Paul Douglas in 1966 or wait until 1968 to take on Gov. Otto Kerner again, if Kerner tries for a third term. Conservative Illinois Republicans still have their doubts about Percy, despite his endorsement of the Goldwater ticket in 1964. Percy is building up a "New Illinois Committee" to engage in economic development and social welfare projects, a move which disturbs some old-line party pros who feel Percy should work within the regular Republican organization.

PERCY

• *Under the Administration's latest farm program, the nation's food bill will jump another $300 million. Bread will go up a penny a loaf and the price of rice is expected to increase 2 or 3 cents a pound.*

This Week in Washington

New Budget Director Named

LBJ took a new slap at the taxpayer last week when he named Charles L. Schultze, a professor of economics at the University of Maryland, to replace Kermit Gordon as budget director. The professor appears to be an ardent advocate of inflationary policies. And as head of the Budget Bureau, he will control one of the key government agencies with enormous powers over the Administration's spending programs, including a say-so over what legislative programs the various departments will submit to Congress.

A former assistant budget director under Gordon, Schultze is a devotee of deficit financing. He is credited with a slightly involved theory which boils down to the fact that the government should continue deficit financing in times of prosperity as well as recession. His theories became the rationale for Administration proposals to cut taxes even while the government was running up enormous deficits.

Formerly, the textbook economists evolved a theory that deficit financing should be resorted to only in times of recession or while there are pockets of unemployment. Mr. Schultze goes a step further. As a witness before the Senate-House Economic Committee on Dec. 7, 1960, he said that "it may be necessary to run a budget deficit even with full employment."

Red China Petition

Fifty-one senators and 270 members of the House have given President Lyndon Johnson the support he needs to take a tough stand against Red China. These lawmakers have signed a hard-line, no-nonsense declaration opposing any concessions by the United States government to the Communist outlaw regime which seems intent on widening the war in Viet Nam.

The four-point declaration, drawn up by the Committee of One Million and circulated in petition form in all 50 states, calls for opposition to:

• The admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

• United States diplomatic recognition of the Peking regime.

• Trade relations between the United States and Communist China.

• Any policy or accommodation which might be interpreted as U.S. acquiescence in, or approval of, Communist China's aggression, direct or indirect, against her neighbors.

The approval of this tough policy position by the lawmakers is believed to have had the tacit support of the White House, but a number of members of Congress have undercut the effectiveness of the petition by pointedly refusing to sign it.

Senators Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge excused themselves on the grounds that they won't sign any petitions drawn up outside of Congress. Both, however, personally wrote the Committee of One Million to endorse its stand.

But other lawmakers, notably the Brothers Kennedy; Sen. J.W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; and Rep. John Lindsay (R.-N.Y.), leader of the rebel "moderate" Republicans, have rudely rebuffed the committee.

Each, for example, refused to acknowledge five written requests—sent between December 1964 and April 1965—to sign the declaration.

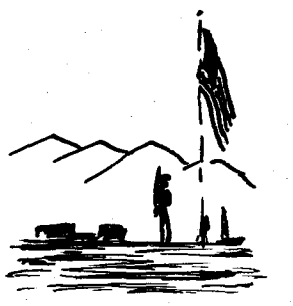
Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), a steering committee member of the Committee of One Million, made a special written plea to Democratic senators to sign. Sen. Peter Dominick (R.-Colo.) made a similar plea to his Republican senatorial colleagues. Representatives John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) and Thomas Morgan (D.-Pa.) each sent out written requests for signatures to his party's House members.

But these special pleas did not persuade over 40 senators and 160 House members. Politicos feel, however, that many will climb aboard the petition bandwagon if voters put their congressmen and senators on the spot and ask them if they have signed, and if not, why.

Constituents can also hurt the Red China appeasement lobby by helping to circulate this petition in their home state. A copy of the anti-Red China declaration, the names of the lawmakers who signed and a petition for citizen signatures can be received by writing to the Committee of One Million, 79 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10016.

Milton Eisenhower Appointed

Among Latin American experts there is little enthusiasm over LBJ's appointment of Dr. Milton Eisenhower, Ike's brother and president of Johns Hopkins University, to a five-man group which is to come up with recommendations on a replacement for the Panama Canal. Sites for the new sea-level canal are being considered in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia and Panama.



Milton's selection is being greeted with severe reservations because of his past diplomatic operations in Latin America. An early supporter of Castro, he helped devise the arms embargo which toppled Batista and ushered the Cuban Communist into power. In 1963 in *The Wine is Bitter*, Dr. Eisenhower went so far as to say (page 258): " . . . One cannot but wish that we had halted arms shipments to Batista earlier than in 1958." He has not changed his position.

Milton, furthermore, is on record with some radical proposals in regard to a sea-level canal. As head of the GOP Critical Issues Council, a body freely leavened with "modern" Republicans, Milton released a statement on April 8, 1964, which made a concerted effort to diminish the importance of American sovereignty over the present Panama Canal or any new channel.

The document, in fact, strongly suggested that the United States begin to develop a new sea-level canal in Panama which would not be controlled by the United States, but by some "inter-American" authority. The paper stressed, further, that American sovereignty over the Canal Zone be eliminated.

Squeezed into these recommendations were some other highly dubious proposals. One would increase American foreign aid to Panama although Americans, directly and indirectly, already create a large part of Panama's economy.

Hence the doubts about LBJ's selection of Milton to straighten out our canal problems south of the border.

Radicals March on Washington

The newspapers didn't mention much about it, but that Easter "March on Washington to End the War in Viet Nam" was heavily weighted with Communists and their fellow travelers. Pro-Communists and pacifists were spotted frequently, but equally as indicative was the literature which drenched the open-air Sylvan Theatre at the base of the Washington Monument, a central meeting place for the marchers and the site of many "get-out-of-Viet Nam" speeches.

While Sen. Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska) was delivering a talk to some 15,000 people declaring that Red China had displayed "admirable restraint" in view of America's "provocative" actions, much of the audience was poring over such pieces of Marxist literature as *The Worker*, the official organ of the

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• *The Chamber of Commerce has warned that creation of a federal Department of Housing and Urban Development would counter the present trend in which communities are taking on more responsibility for solving their own problems. "Leadership for solving local problems, for really seeing the jobs through to completion, is eternally local," the chamber says. "No Washington office holder can do a remote-control, string-pulling job that will replace local leadership. Such attempts by Washington are far more likely to produce the red tape that impedes the progress of the local leader."*

Communist party, and the Communist-cited *National Guardian*, which spews out the pro-Peking line.

Though selling literature was forbidden, several persons were hawking Insurgent, **the official magazine of the W.E.B. Dubois Clubs, an organization FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover calls "Communist-spawned."**

(*Insurgent* had little to say about Viet Nam, but its editors in issue 1, volume 1, said: " . . . Castro struggled up the top of the jungle mountain with 12 men and had the bravado to claim that 'the days of dictatorship are numbered.' The Cuban people heard him. With that same spirit, *Insurgent* draws its first breath.")

According to the April 20 *Worker*, the W.E.B. Dubois Clubs "were largely responsible for bringing 17 busloads to Washington."

Officials of the Students for a Democratic Society, which organized the march, admit that more than $100,000 was spent on the demonstration. The cost was divided among a number of organizations, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Women Strike for Peace, both of which groups refuse to bar Communists from membership. The major festivities were ended with folk-singer and pacifist Joan Baez singing the civil rights theme song, "We Shall Overcome."

Coddled Drop-outs

Delinquents and drop-outs attending the Administration's special rehabilitation camps will live in style. The Chicago *Tribune* reveals that female "house guests" will be maintained, compensated and trained at an annual cost which will be about double that of sending a young woman to Vasser or Radcliffe.

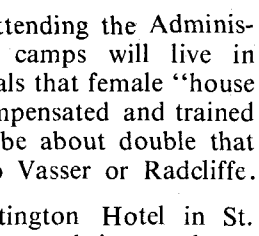
The old-line, genteel Huntington Hotel in St. Petersburg, Fla., is being converted into a home for drop-outs aged 16 to 21. The quarters are far more lavish than those in which thousands of St. Petersburg "senior citizens" occupy.

Not to be outdone by the St. Petersburg layout, "drop-out" officials in Los Angeles plan to convert a 13-story hotel into their headquarters. Dormitories there will boast a snack bar, juke boxes and social programs.

In Cleveland, the local "Dropout U" will be housed in a 6-story college dormitory. Each dropout will cost the taxpayers $560 a month for travel, housing, clothing and personal allowance.

GOP Hopes in S. C.

Republican party pros are hoping to sweep two senate seats in South Carolina in 1966, in spite of the fact that no Republican has been elected to the senate in the Palmetto State since Reconstruction days and in spite of the fact that Donald Russell, a Democrat, resigned from the governorship last week and had himself appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Sen. Olin Johnson.



The two senators the Republicans hope will be elected: Sen. Strom Thurmond, who switched to the GOP last fall, but has never been elected to office as a Republican, and former Democratic Rep. Albert Watson, who resigned from his congressional seat in January to run as a Republican in a special June election. Should both Thurmond and Watson win, South Carolina would be represented by two hard-nosed conservatives and the growing GOP movement south of the Mason-Dixon line would receive a momentus forward push.

GOP hopes spring from a number of factors. Sen. Thurmond, who has emerged as the "king pin" politico in the state, is expected to triumph over any possible Democratic contender when his senate seat is up for grabs in 1966. Thurmond proved his formidable political powers last fall when he not only left the Democratic party, historically rooted in the South, but helped put South Carolina in the Republican column with his vigorous campaigning for Goldwater.

Thurmond's protege, Watson, should he win his special congressional election in June, is expected to make his bid for South Carolina's other senate seat, which, because of Sen. Johnston's death, will be on the auction block in 1966 instead of 1968.

Watson would have to face former Gov. Russell, who just had himself appointed to the senate, but many feel Watson would have an excellent chance of winning. Russell's political popularity has slipped in recent years and South Carolinians, even liberals, feel that the liberally-inclined Russell has handed Watson a hot political issue by having himself appointed to fill Johnston's post. Records in the Senate Parliamentarian's office show that since 1933 only one of the six governors who resigned so they could be appointed to the Senate has been able to hold on to his Senate seat in the next election. The only exception is A.B. "Happy" Chandler, former Kentucky governor. Last year, two former governors who appointed themselves to the Senate—Democrat J. Howard Edmondson of Oklahoma and Republican Edwin L. Mechem of New Mexico—were defeated.

Watson, furthermore, would have his election chances aided by the fact he would be running for office simultaneously with Thurmond, who has been the biggest vote-getter in the state. All in all, the 1966 elections in South Carolina promise to produce excitement, with the strong possibility that conservatives will win the political sweepstakes.

Return of Lattimore

Owen Lattimore, the Far Eastern "expert" who helped sabotage the government of Chiang Kai-shek when Chiang ruled Mainland China, has popped back into the news again, an event that has disturbing overtones for an American policy of firmness in Asia.

It appears that Lattimore, once labeled a "conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy" by a unanimous Senate subcommittee, has wormed himself back into the good graces of influential opinion makers and State Department personnel. (He denied the subcommittee charge.)

The New York *Times* recently gave a big splash on its editorial page to a letter from Lattimore calling for American withdrawal in Viet Nam. The *Times* covered up his previous left-wing record, identifying him only as a Leeds University professor in England who was also "a former adviser to Chiang Kai-shek."

Moreover, at a recent State Department conference in Washington for newsmen from around the country, department officials spoke glowingly of the controversial professor who frequently visits policy makers in the United States.

The professor, however, has hardly given up his far-left ideas. He is now a sponsor of a new British-Chinese friendship organization, called the Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding. This new group, inspired by Dr. Joseph Needham, the Cambridge biochemist who alleged that Americans used germ warfare in Korea, plans to hold a reception for the Red Chinese next month.

The new prominence of Lattimore is disturbing to many. The last time he was in the news at any length was in the spring and summer of 1961 when he went on a secret mission to Communist-dominated Outer Mongolia. A few months later, the United States voted with the Soviet Union to make Mongolia a member of the United Nations.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• The Johnson Administration, while banning Mexican farm laborers from working in California fields, nonetheless allows European hotel and restaurant workers to enter the United States to work in major hotels, mostly on the East Coast. Notes Rep. Charles M. Teague (R.-Calif.), a steadfast critic of the LBJ action in discontinuing the bracero program, "It seems to me it should be a lot easier to hire U.S. workers to wait on tables than to do hard stoop labor in the broiling California sun. Therefore, if the Administration feels it is valid to allow large hotels to bring in immigrant help, why aren't our harassed California farmers being allowed the same privilege?"

TEAGUE

• *Another overlooked aspect of Medicare: Administration sources now say that the Social Security tax increases which will finance Medicare, actually a tax on payrolls, may cause further unemployment in the economy. This was vociferously argued by Rep. Thomas Curtis (R.-Mo.), a consistent opponent of Medicare, but Administration experts pooh-poohed Curtis' contention in the closed-door hearings on the bill before the House Ways and Means Committee.*

• Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) observes that the first beneficiaries of the Administration's "war on poverty" do not live in West Virginia or Kentucky or Pennsylvania: "The first beneficiaries will be right here in the Nation's Capital. The first poverty pocket to be wiped out will be in the Office of Economic Opportunity. The opportunities are abundant. Lavish-paying jobs have been created for a whole army of bureaucrats who will administer the program."

ROUDEBUSH

• *Despite the Viet Nam situation, the State Department is still carrying out LBJ's program of "building bridges" to Red-dominated Eastern Europe. The United States will rent two pavilions at the Budapest Trade Fair next month. The department is said to feel that Hungary, under Janos Kadar's rule, is "mellowing," although Cardinal Mindszenty is still in self-imposed asylum at the U.S. consulate in Budapest and memories of the 1956 revolution still abound in the Magyar country.*

• Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) finds the situation in South Viet Nam looking up. After a personal inspection tour, Dodd said in Saigon: "I am impressed to discover that all our senior representatives here, both civilian and military, are convinced that there has been a significant improvement in the situation in recent months, that morale on the government side is much improved and morale on the Viet Cong side is much worse."

DODD

• *Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser has requested another $500 million in U.S. "food for peace" aid. The State Department has the request under "advisement."*

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Will Ask More Aid

Ghana Official Plans U.S. Visit

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

A top-ranking official of Ghana's pro-Soviet regime will arrive here shortly to beg for new millions in U.S. foreign aid.

To date, the United States has dispatched more than $160 million to Ghana's president for life, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. A winner of the Lenin Peace prize, Nkrumah has demonstrated his gratitude with periodic attacks on the "Fascist imperialists" of Washington.

But Ghana's finance minister, Kwani Amoako-Atta, will receive the red carpet treatment during his upcoming visit. State Department officials say they will give "every consideration" to his request for new aid.

Connecticut Sen. Thomas Dodd, Congress' top expert on Communist subversion, has warned repeatedly that Nkrumah runs a "quasi-Communist satellite." Quoting from Nkrumah's own biography, Dodd notes the Ghanaian leader associated with key American Communists while a student here more than 25 years ago. It was then, Nkrumah boasts, that he became a dedicated Marxist.

Shortly thereafter, Nkrumah traveled to Great Britain and formed a secret organization of African revolutionaries that he called the "Circle." Members were pledged to "political revolution as a profession" and dedicated to the "creation and maintenance of a union of African Socialist republics."

A British commission of inquiry set up to investigate 1948 disturbances in Ghana (then the Gold Coast) reported: "Mr. Nkrumah has never abandoned his aims for a union of African Socialist republics and has not abandoned his foreign affiliations with those aims."

When Ghana won its independence in 1957 and Nkrumah became its first ruler, among those invited as official guests of the new government were Cedric Belfrage, a British subject deported from the U.S. for Communist party membership in 1955; and Cheddi Jagan, who would later, as prime minister of British Guiana, reveal that he was a Marxist.

State Department "fact sheets" assert that Ghana is a "republic" interested in "steadily increasing ties of friendship with the United States."

Nonsense, says Sen. Dodd. Under Nkrumah's direction, Ghana has become a focal point for African subversion. "Like Castro's Cuba," he charges, "Ghana carried on a propaganda campaign that would tax the resources of a major country. It trains natives of other countries in the arts of infiltration, sabotage, terror and guerrilla warfare. It exports arms by clandestine means to the terrorist groups which it has fostered and today supports."

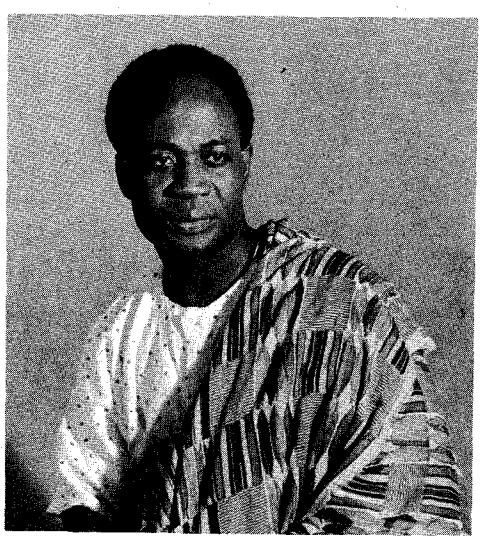
Columnist Fulton Lewis describes elsewhere on this page a new drive to win freedom for Morton Sobell (above).

Witnesses before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee testified that Nkrumah has for several years sent Ghanaian students behind the Iron Curtain "to learn how to kill people and lead bloody revolutions throughout Africa."

A leading Nkrumah aide is Samuel Ikoku, a Nigerian now living in Ghana's capital city of Accra. Testimony in a Nigerian treason trial repeatedly involved Ikoku as a revolutionary who used Ghana as his headquarters while attempting the violent overthrow of his own government.

Note: The State Department has denounced Sen. Dodd for his "distortions" and "smears" of the Nkrumah regime. A department spokesman claims: "In international affairs the government of Ghana follows a policy which it describes as one of positive neutralism and in furtherance of its policy has established relations with both the Western and East-bloc countries. Ghana has not aligned itself with either grouping."

A State Department intelligence report, drafted last year, tells a very different story: "Communist influence is strong in the ruling Convention People's Party, the Ghana Trade Union Congress, youth organizations and the press. This influence is enhanced by the close relations between Ghana and the Communist states and by the important role played by left-leaning radicals within the ruling CCP and the government. An estimated 700 Ghanaians are studying in the Communist orbit. There are a larger number of visits than before of Ghanaians to the Communist states and of Communist personnel to Ghana."



Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah runs a "quasi-Communist satellite," warns Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.).

* * *

Leaders of a cited Communist front have kicked off a new drive to win freedom for Morton Sobell, convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage in 1951.

A quarter-page ad in the Washington *Post* earlier this month implored President Johnson to grant a full pardon to Sobell, who is now serving a 30-year prison term. The plea was sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, a group cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front.

More than 20 prominent citizens, ranging from theologian Reinhold Niebuhr to scientist Harold Urey, signed the ad, proclaiming Sobell's innocence. But the facts are clear, as HCUA declared in 1956:

"Both the Rosenbergs and Sobell were active and devoted Communists . . . they received every possible protection of their rights. It took them more than two years to exhaust their legal resources. They had a trial by jury by their peers; the sentence was appraised seven times by the U.S. Court of Appeals, and upheld each time. Another seven times it came to the U.S. Supreme Court, which refused to review it. There were three requests for clemency to two Presidents of the United States and these, too, were denied."

Earlier this year, Sobell's wife, Helen, dispatched an appeal for clemency to Mrs. Lyndon Johnson. The plea was rejected by the Justice Department pardon attorney Reed Cozart.

But Mrs. Sobell has not yet thrown in the towel. She plans soon to present a petition bearing 10,000 signatures to the White House and hopes for action.

Mrs. Sobell estimates that $1 million has thus far been expended to win her husband's freedom. National headquarters for the Sobell campaign are located in New York and regional offices have been set up in eight other cities.

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The 'Mainstream' Doesn't Always Flow True

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Any questioning of an Establishment ukase is certain to bring notes of recrimination from the faithful, and these I have learned to read in stoical silence. But so many of this morning's complaints come from the same area and are so alike in their phrasing that a less trusting nature than mine might suspect that a group of the boys had decided on a letter-writing campaign.

At any rate, this is a fair composite of a score or so: "Just what qualifies you as a political commentator and prognosticator? Does having written a Marx Bros. vehicle or two give you the background to challenge—often on the same page—the conclusions of a political philosopher like Walter Lippmann, who has a world-wide audience and whose counsel has been solicited by several of our Presidents?

"Mr. Lippmann could be appointed to the Cabinet or the Supreme Court—and members of both parties would be happy to ratify such a choice—whereas in your heart you know you couldn't be elected dog catcher. You say you are a Republican, but your backing of Goldwater proves you are clearly not in the mainstream of that party; you are Jewish, but you are certainly out of step with the thinking of the majority of your coreligionists. Just whom do you represent?"

Well, to answer the last charge in the soft impeachment first, I represent no one but myself. As I have written before, every column, good or bad, wise or inane, is prefaced mentally with "It seems to me." I do not speak —officially or secretly—for this paper or (to name a few organizations which I have at various times been accused of fronting for) the Ku Klux Klan, the Catholic Church, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the John Birch Society, the Union Miniere of the Congo, the Mormon Church or the Communist party. (And don't laugh at the last one as mere hyperbole. Clifford B. Ward, editor of the Fort Wayne *News-Sentinel*, recently wrote me he had spent a vigorous half-hour pacifying an irate subscriber who demanded he "get that damned Red off the paper.")

As for political commentary, I've been indulging in it for years with friends and neighbors. I have never had my right to vote—the ultimate in political commentary—questioned, and in rereading the Constitution I find nothing denying the suffrage to writers for the Marx Bros. Granted, the Supreme Court has not ruled on that point: and it may be the new civil rights bill will carry such a restriction. But until then my attitude is, if Groucho may voice his political opinions, so may I.

And if it's constitutional to evaluate the speeches of Presidents, why not the musings of Lippmann? Conceded, he has a hundred times the audience I have, but he is human and nods like the rest of us. When Hitler came into power, Mr. L. said his success at the polls would mature him and that he would bring Germany a responsible government. In 1938 the same wise man said Japan's new order would sweep all Asia and advised that we change our Chinese policy, bow to the inevitable and withdraw our sphere of influence to Hawaii. And at World War II's end in 1945 Lippmann predicted that Stalin and Russia would become increasingly democratic and peaceful.

Since he struck out on three such important prognostications, there is always the possibility that his crystal ball may do him wrong again. Maybe it would have been better if he had given his advice to Hitler, the Japanese and Stalin instead of our own Presidents.

My own predictions have been few, and in five years of columning I recall only two—and they were more readings of the times than mystical prognostications. Toward the end of 1961 I warned Goldwater that a campaign of vilification would be launched against him in 1962 in an effort to destroy him and the conservative movement. And on election night, 1964, as it became clear that the plan had been successful, I wrote:

"Make no mistake about it, America has made a sharp turn to the left. The Revolution of 1776 has been overthrown by the counter-revolutionists of 1964; the sacred tenets of limited government and individual responsibility and freedom have been replaced—for better or for worse, only history can tell—by the doctrines of the Welfare State, to be run by the Fabian carpetbaggers." That hasn't proved to be such a bad guess, either, and I stand pat on it.

Oh, about the mainstream—here I concede I have rarely been on the popular side of the moment. But if that is your criterion, I would remind you that for years the mainstream of Russia was with Stalin, the mainstream of Germany with Hitler and the mainstream of Japan with the militarists.

Any other questions?

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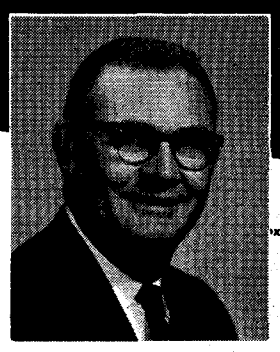

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April 5, 1965

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Mr. John Williamson
Route 6
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Dr. F. A. Poe
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After reading "Human Events" for a few issues; and if you decide that it is good, I ask that you make a gift of five subscriptions to five of your friends whom you think would benefit from reading "Human Events." You may want to copy this letter substituting the names of your other friends for those above, or write a similar one. Help keep the movement alive by sending five.

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Education in the "Great Society"

A preview of what federal aid may mean

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Passage of the federal aid to education bill as proposed by President Lyndon Johnson has caused a stir of hopeful activity among the bureaucratic forces at the U.S. Office of Education. It is seen there as the first step toward a "unified" education system that will cover the entire country and make each school as alike as two packages of Jell-O.

This was the ultimate aim of the educationists, though they pleaded that federal aid was necessary because local communities were not spending enough money on new classrooms. When this argument was demolished, they openly espoused the doctrine of central control —and this is what we are going to get unless and until the American people decide that the schools belong to them and not to a group of opinionated theorists sitting in Washington.

Education, to be valid and effective, must derive its nourishment from its own roots. It must reflect the basic moral codes and moral thinking of the community. If ideas and ideals are imported, they shatter old standards and leave those who are exposed to the new educational process adrift. Much of the rootlessness and aimlessness of contemporary youth is traceable to the breakdown of values and the attempted imposition of others which, though proper for one part of the country, are meaningless in other parts.

This is one of the sad consequences of bureaucratic meddling in education. A more obvious and more dramatic possibility is indicated by what is happening in Omaha, Neb. A reader sends me an editorial from the *Evening World-Herald* which tells the story. According to the account, a sixth grader came home with some of her school materials. This included "Senior Weekly Reader" for January 18-22, 1965, published by Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

"This is about the Great Society," the girl told her parents.

Read it for yourself:

"The Great Society defined . . . It is a place where no one is poor, where schooling through college is free, where all the sick people are cared for, and where cities and countryside are made beautiful."

On the back page of the "Senior Weekly Reader" there was a quiz, so that the sixth grader's teacher could learn whether or not the lesson had penetrated. One of the true or false statements was:

"The Great Society is a place where people pay for their schooling."

"The child said that she really knew better," the Omaha *Evening World-Herald* reports, "but she had marked the statement false, for that was the answer that was required if one expected to make a passing grade.

"Her father suggested a true or false statement which the quiz did not include. It is:

" 'Political liars don't waste any time getting their brainwashing propaganda into classrooms.'

"If you mark that false, you're false, your're flunking."

By this time, the writer responsible for the editorial must be under attack as a John Bircher, a Minuteman, a Kluxer, or worse—a conservative. I am sure that he is being accused of tampering with the educational process and of wanting to burn books. Whenever criticism is leveled at schools, this is the inevitable result. Those who are succeeding in standing education on its ear take the view that expressing dissent is tantamount to treason.

Parents who are disturbed by the nature and quality of today's education are therefore silenced. No one likes to be a target for the smearbund which takes to the warpath whenever criticism is voiced. And this fear exists at a time when school boards are presumably controlled by the community.

What happens when the federal government, in all its majesty, must be confronted? Now and then, there are brave men and women who are willing to take the punishment and to be leaders in their communities. Will they be ready to take on a federal government which, not too long ago, was ready to use the Internal Revenue Service as an instrument of persuasion?

Yet this is the road down which we are moving toward the "Great Society," in which everyone gets something for nothing—as long as he behaves. Once upon a time, there were constitutional barricades which restrained the assaults of a federal bureaucracy. But the Constitution is rapidly being relegated to the dust bin, its provisions ignored by the Supreme Court—all in the name of rights "guaranteed" by our basic legal document.

This kind of Newspeak and Doublethink—war is peace, right is wrong, patriotism is treason, anarchy is law—is all about us. As our children are brainwashed, so will history herald our own 1984.

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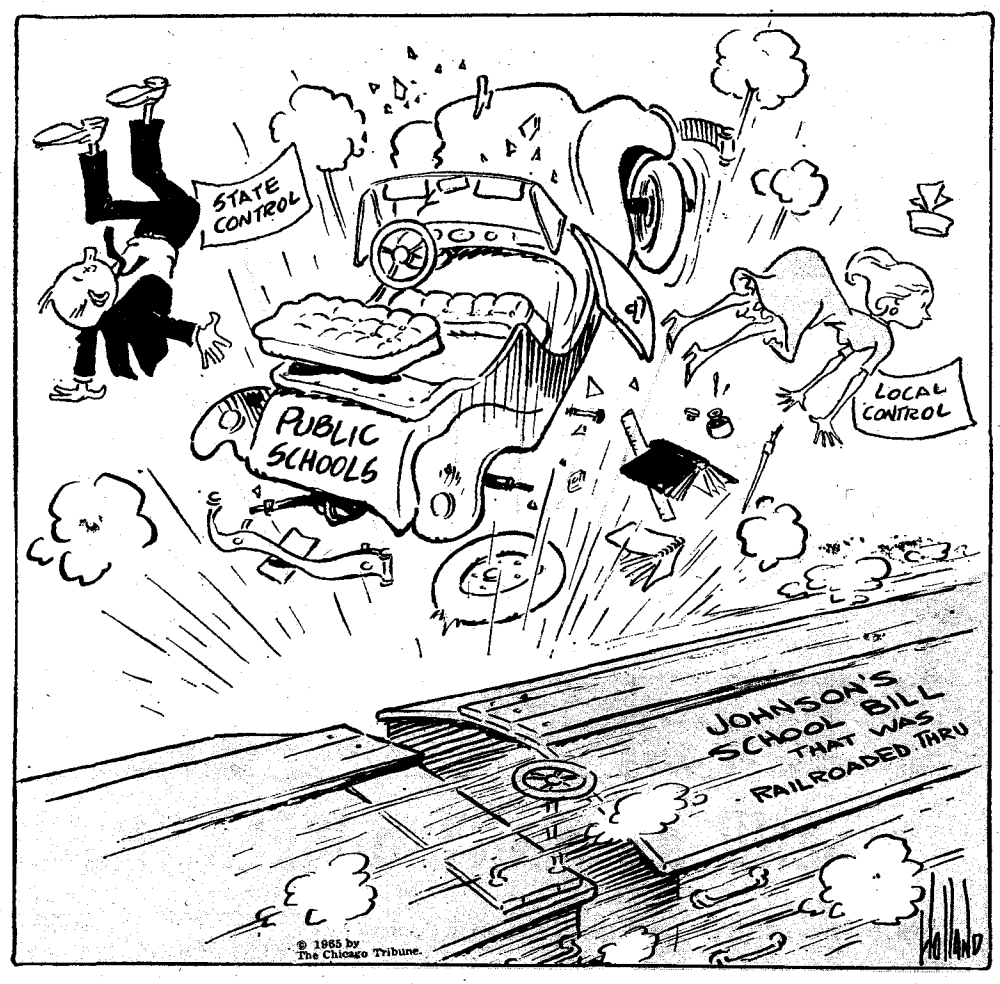
TRAGEDY AT THE CROSSING



Says Supreme Court Amended Constitution

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

If Judge Harold R. Fatzer could have persuaded just one more of his colleagues to go along with him a few weeks ago, the Supreme Court of Kansas would have made some notable history in the field of jurisprudence. Unhappily, his rebellion failed, and a court that might have dropped a 4-3 blockbuster dropped a dutiful 4-3 dud.

This was an apportionment case, challenging the constitutionality of the Kansas House of Representatives. From the time of its statehood, back in 1861, Kansas has guaranteed each of its counties at least one seat in the house. There are now 125 seats in the lower chamber, 105 by counties and 20 by population. The Kansas Senate is apportioned by population only.

Following the U.S. Supreme Court's pronouncements that such a plan violates the Fourteenth Amendment, a suit was brought in Kansas to compel reapportionment of the state's House of Representatives. On March 1, a majority of the Kansas court reluctantly upheld the petition, and voided the century-old plan. Because of a rule within the court, by which judges prepare opinions by rotation, it so happened that Judge Fatzer himself worked up a 13-page opinion accepting the authority of the U.S. Supreme Court and ordering a reapportionment.

Then Judge Fatzer picked up another pen and delivered himself of a 55-page dissenting opinion in which he ripped the hide off his federal superiors in Washington. Chief Justice Jay S. Parker and Judge William J. Wertz joined him in the assault.

"This case," said Judge Fatzer, dissenting, "involves what is in simple truth one of the gravest constitutional crises ever to face this state, however ill-understood it may be. Broadly speaking, the grave issue is whether this nation will become a consolidated absolute in its jurisdiction, with state governments existing only to exercise their powers by its sufferance, or remain a union of states and a nation of people as intended by the Founding Fathers."

The Supreme Court of the United States had laid down a construction of the Fourteenth Amendment, applied to the formation of state legislatures, which lower courts are required by tradition to respect. Judge Fatzer refused to respect this authority.

"Respect for the court is misdirected insofar as it engenders a docile submission to a decision . . . which challenges and strikes down the structure and organization of the political institutions of the states, and it is in the long-term interest of the court and the nation that this respect should not become a servile abasement . . . When a judicial opinion reaches beyond the federal power which the Constitution confers or restricts, it then becomes no longer judicial review but judicial supremacy through judicial usurpation of power, and is not binding upon state courts or judges under the supremacy clause.

"I insist that judicial errors of reasoning be judicially corrected."

Judge Fatzer turned back to the history of Kansas to show that this very question of "population vs. area" was debated when the Territory's constitutional convention was adopting a first constitution in 1859. The issue was resolved in favor of the county plan, and this legislative apportionment was approved by the Congress as a "republican form of government."

From that day to this, said Judge Fatzer, the plan "has made it possible for the majority to rule without tyrannizing, and for the minority to influence without ruling." It is a plan that "reasonably achieves an effective and balanced representation of all substantial interests without sacrificing the principle of effective majority rule."

Judge Fatzer then dwelled at some length upon the intention of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment. Kansas ratified the amendment in 1867 with only a handful of objecting votes. It is "crass foolishness" to imagine that those who framed and ratified the amendment ever dreamed that they were eliminating geographical plans of apportionment. If there had then been "the least anticipation" of such an interpretation, "there would have arisen a solid phalanx of opposition. The states would not have adopted it." For the U.S. Supreme Court to enforce a contrary view today is "nothing less than the majority's attempt to write its own amendment to the Constitution."

There was a whole lot more to Judge Fatzer's dissenting opinion, but in the end it wound up as just that and nothing more—a dissenting opinion. As Mr. Justice Stone once remarked, "a dissent is of little worth unless it is read." It would be a fine thing for the country if this dissent could be read from coast to coast.

(Copyright 1965, *Newsday*)

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INTERESTING—Isn't it interesting that President Johnson is so concerned about profits made by the steel companies—and so unconcerned over profits made by his proteges?

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Aim of 'Direct Action': To Persuade or to Coerce?

By JIM WRIGHT in the Dallas *Morning News*

"Direct action" is a stirring term. In theory and in practice, it has a great appeal for all those who, for one reason or another, are not satisfied with the pace or the outcome of normal legal processes.

For the militant liberal, it offers a long-sought chance to leap to a barricade, an item liberals have found regrettably scarce in recent years. For the pacifist, it offers a chance to save the world whether it likes it or not. For the civil rights activist it offers a chance to spring over the slow progress of government and society toward "freedom now." For the American Nazi, it offers a chance to attract free publicity and recruits. For the Klansman, it offers a chance to fight back against a threat to his concept of white supremacy.

The one thing that ties these disparate individuals together is their desire to exert power on society or a part of it and do so by an overt act or, to use their term, "direct action." This, they feel, is not only more exciting but more effective than the sometimes tedious business of voting, persuading, negotiating, compromising and seeking redress through the courts.

The crux of direct action's appeal is the promise of power, irresistible to many. The authors of the recently published "Manual for Direct Action" make no bones about it. In the introduction they declare, "The leader who alone understands the dynamics of a struggle and the techniques for waging it has a monopoly of power. Power flows to those who understand what is happening."

The authors, Martin Oppenheimer and George Lakey, instruct the prospective activist to find out "Who has the power?" and to choose tactics according to the situation. To determine the pivotal points of the community's "power structure," the reader is directed to industrial reference manuals, the registry of executives and directors, local almanacs, newspaper society pages and "interviews with local business, labor and political figures (preferably before they know why you are really there)."

The various local elites, the reader is told, "have interests which differ and sometimes conflict. These differences and conflicts can be 'used.'"

These differences can in fact be used quite ruthlessly, as the example advises: "It is wise to try to boycott all stores, even when some stores are prepared to give in to demands on equal hiring and serving. The managers who are willing to give in will then pressure the more stubborn ones."

Nor need the advocate of direct action be particularly squeamish in his choice of allies: "Juvenile gangs, if approached in the right way, can be given a new purpose in life and can be valuable allies—but do not expect them to become nonviolent angels overnight."

Yet nonviolence remains a cardinal principle for, as the manual points out, "it makes good public relations sense because it limits the chances for finding reasons to be against the movement."

And when they say "public relations," the authors declare, they mean "propaganda." Having selected a "target group," they hit it from every side: "Every propaganda item (mass meetings, press releases, leaflets, TV programs, etc.) should be aimed at a particular segment of the population, your 'target.'"

After rehearsal in "socio-dramas" in which trainees are run through anticipated situations, the militant is ready for commencement of direct action. Many of the favored tactics are listed and "the methods may be legal or illegal, depending on local laws."

They include the strike, the rent-strike (workers invite tenants to cease paying rent), the hartal (all sympathizers stay home for a day or more), the boycott (consumer and school) and tax refusal ("if the refusing population is large it threatens the very survival of the government").

Also, there are the sit-in and its many variants, the fast (should be thought through carefully—"this is especially true of the fast unto death"), the reverse strike (doing work that is not required, such as constructing playgrounds on lots that belong to someone else—"this may involve breaking the law") and finally what is called "nonviolent interjection and obstruction."

The latter is the tactic used by crowds of demonstrators who chained themselves to construction cranes and lay down under bulldozers last year. An unsuccessful example given is the World's Fair "stall-in," which failed to block the freeway to the fairgrounds. A successful one was the Japanese crowd of 10,000 who blocked construction of a U.S. air base in Japan in 1956.

But no matter which tactic is used, the aim of the direct-action groups is to exert pressure by "positive social dislocation." As the manual frankly declares, "Direct action is intended to bring counterpower to bear, forcing change through peaceful conflict."

And this one line reveals both why direct action is effective and why it is potentially dangerous: In the final analysis, whether violent or nonviolent, it appeals to force. Though few can object to action intended to persuade, direct action can evolve, and in many cases has evolved, into a form of coercion.

Today we see direct action becoming more and more routine. Since nothing succeeds like success, it is daily being taken up by new causes, every one of which, its believers think, justifies a shortcut around the democratic process.

It is probably safe to say that most Americans assume even the most fervent disciples of direct action will cease using it once their current goals are achieved. This is not necessarily true. New goals can be found and there is seldom agreement by all that old goals have been reached.

Bayard Rustin, in his foreword to this manual, says, "The labor movement, peace groups, community and neighborhood organizations, students, will all find something of value here."

Many may not relish the prospect of a community or a government that is driven this way and that by fasts, tax refusal, mass demonstrations and other techniques of direct action. Many may feel that the vote, the law, the courts and the conscience of the public have served us rather well, if not perfectly.

Yet Rustin maintains that direct action must find new worlds to conquer, "for nonviolent direct action is not a

Bayard Rustin

closed book. It is a dynamic tool and a way of looking at life which can (and I feel, ultimately must) affect many aspects of the human condition hardly touched upon by its practitioners at this early juncture."

The notion that negotiation and compromise are bourgeois, decadent tricks for obstructing progress did not originate with the current militants. But this early juncture may be the ideal time to reflect on this view. History shows that when it is widely held and acted upon, the result is often tyranny, oppression and the loss of rights by minority and majority alike."

A form of 'direct action': Civil rights demonstrators block Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue March 12 in calling for federal intervention in the Selma, Ala., voter registration drive.

Picks No. Dakota County

From the Billings (Mont.) *Gazette*

If some sections of the country hadn't been so depressed that they really needed government aid to lift their economy, we wouldn't have the anti-poverty legislation. The intention is fine, but as so often happens, politics can cast the shadow of waste and we have a program inspired by compassion but turned into great bureaucratic enterprise with a zeal for spending.

The theory that everybody will gladly accept a gratuity from Washington collides with the fact that there are people and communities in these 50 states which take pride in being able to support themselves. They object to the poverty sign being erected over their region unless it's necessary. They don't want to be known as a blighted area simply because Washington decided to give them the designation.

A few weeks ago the "Great Society" picked the central North Dakota county of Sheridan to share in its beneficences under the Appalachia program. Today, residents of the county are asking each other, "How come?" They've been building new homes, new schools, new churches and they have good roads. The McClusky (N.D.) *Gazette* commented that "despite the fact there is less need in this area than at any time since World War II, this county has been earmarked for aid . . . The announcement came as a surprise to us and apparently to all county officials and municipal governments."

A surprise. They didn't even know they were poverty-stricken, or that they were supposed to be.

Estimates place the personnel needs of the poverty aid bureau of the "Great Society" at 46,000, and, of course, keeping a staff of that size occupied will require projects. Efficiency calls for elimination of thumb-spinning, so the agency seems to be looking around for something to do. But the trouble is that this is spending money unnecessarily and forcing its attention upon a community that doesn't want it. All of which made us mighty unhappy as we looked at that fateful April 15 deadline for income tax payments.

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TRUMPETS OF RETREAT—GOP Senate Leader Everett Dirksen has reacted sharply to the assertion of Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) that "flag-waving professional patriots" are making it more difficult to reach accommodation with the Soviet Union. Dirksen said there was no reason to believe that the Soviets seek peaceful coexistence. "We have blown the trumpets of retreat entirely too long and it is just about time that we stand up and be counted," he said.

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Shriver Uses Slick Propaganda To Sell 'Poverty' to Congress

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

Two of the flossiest oversize paperback books ever issued at taxpayer expense were submitted to Congress recently in an Administration effort to get a $1.5-billion appropriation for the next fiscal year's war on poverty.

Totally without embarrassment, Sargent Shriver, who is in charge of the anti-poverty crusade, offered the elaborate printed material, jamful of pictures of underprivileged children, to bulwark his case for spending twice as much next year as this year.

Apparently he saw nothing incongruous in making the two ornate volumes the basis of his congressional presentation. And neither did he see anything bordering on the ridiculous in their display at the same time he was telling a House committee how he was trying to run the war on poverty on an efficient and austere basis.

Poverty chieftain Sargent Shriver is coming under fire for the high salaries his office pays.

Volume No. 1 was titled "The First Step—On a Long Journey" and honestly identified as "Congressional Presentation, April, 1965, Office of Economic Opportunity." Volume No. 2 was similarly labeled and full of tables to show how effective the war on poverty is.

The fact is that this sort of expensive selling job in behalf of the anti-poverty drive is nothing new in Shriver's outfit. A few weeks ago his Office of Economic Opportunity put out a slick paper pamphlet to push project Head Start, one of the many poverty-eradication programs.

The Head Start brochure was basically a picture book, showing sad-faced young children who have been living in poverty and require guidance at government expense in their preschool years.

The foreword in this brochure was by Lady Bird Johnson, who urged cooperative effort "to reach out to one million young children, lost in the gray world of poverty and neglect, and lead them into the human family."

No one is arguing about the need of action along this line, or for that matter disputing Shriver's argument that this Congress should ante up $1.5 billion more to help beat poverty.

The only point is whether it is in good taste to spend anti-poverty funds to ballyhoo the war on poverty and to get a favorable emotional reaction out of Congress by displaying pictures of children.

No other government agency or department would dare to make such a Madison Avenue type of selling pitch. The Defense Department makes its case for getting $50 billion or more out of Congress by simply showing manpower and material costs. It knows that it would look ridiculous and be subject to warranted congressional gibes if it supplied pretty pictures of airplanes and new model tanks to a House or Senate committee coincidental with the factual presentation of Defense Secretary McNamara.

Apparently there is something about the war on poverty which is different. For at the Shriver hearing, no question was raised as to the propriety of spending thousands of war-on-poverty dollars for a printed and pictured recitation of the agency's accomplishments.

And neither did any of the congressmen smirk when Shriver argued that his outfit was operating on a most frugal basis—as it was the intent to use every appropriated dollar possible for the poor and hold administrative costs to the bone.

Shriver flatly denied, for example, the charge by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) that the poverty program in many cities had been turned into "fiestas of political patronage."

The poverty czar admitted that there might be some instances where political hacks got on the payroll at lush salaries in some communities that are operating projects financed by his agency. But he insisted that there are only 17 federal war-on-poverty officials getting more than $15,000 a year, and all were hired for their ability in the poverty field. And he said he wanted it made crystal clear that the program is not operating out of "plush and posh" quarters in Washington.

All right, Shriver is operating on an austerity administrative basis! So he says. But how come the "plush and posh" literature is going out in every mail? This brainwashing job smells of cheap politics being played in an expensive way by an agency which obviously should be intent on funneling every possible dollar to people in need.

The fact is, as certain Republicans like Rep. William C. Cramer (Fla.) have charged, that all of LBJ's "Great Society" projects are susceptible to political boondoggling and pork barrel scandals. This is almost invariably true of any huge federal spending program.

If and when there is an honest investigation by Congress of the operations of the anti-poverty program and the Appalachia development plan, it can be definitely expected that glaring instances of political shenanigans and waste will be spread on the record.

The Appalachia bill, carrying $1.1 billions for development of the economically distressed 11-state mountain region, was the first "Great Society" measure to clear the present Congress.

It is already being appreciated that this new Appalachia law has tremendous pork barrel possibilities. For instance, 20 counties in north Georgia are in the depressed area category. And what has the state Appalachia coordinator, Walter Dyal, recommended to help Georgians in the tobacco road region get back on their feet again?

Dyal wants to build an 89-mile long $33-million super highway through the area, connecting with the complex of freeways around Atlanta. Just how this would help the economically depressed residents of North Georgia is hard to follow.

But there is not going to be any congressional watchdog committee delving into such misuse of federal funds—at least not until the Republicans win back control of Congress.

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PROPER CRITICISM—Former Supreme Court Justice Charles E. Whittaker has said that criticism of judicial opinions is entirely proper. He told the annual spring meeting of the American College of Trial Lawyers that "respect for the judiciary cannot be won by shielding judges and their opinions."

Foreign Aid Rumpus

From the Nashville *Banner*

Quite a rumpus is being raised by the AID people (Agency for International Development) over the interest borrowing nations now are required to pay on "loans" granted by the United States. The rate is encumbering them, and handicapping them sorely, says AID. Until last year they were paying as little as ¾ of one per cent; but Congress (over the agency's protest) jacked that up to a 2½ per cent minimum.

Now, let us see: How much interest does the federal government pay for what it has to borrow to expend that way?

Interest on the U. S. public debt now is running to almost $12 billion per year. Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.) reports that of that amount more than $5.3 billion annually is interest on the money the government has borrowed to give away (or lend).

Passman is chairman of the House Foreign Operations subcommittee. His area of most intensive study has been for years the "foreign aid" program.

According to his figures, there now are 22 federal agencies dispensing some kind of foreign aid and 71,416 federal employes; and the government during fiscal 1965 is disbursing that assistance in one form or another in 99 foreign nations and nine territories.

The special program of assistance mentioned by President Johnson for North Viet Nam—to induce that land to cease aggression against South Viet Nam—would be in addition to that; a billion-dollar addition, initially.

If the lands on Uncle Sam's cuff are so hard-up as to necessitate a cut in the interest rate on "loans," it is a shade peculiar that among them are the ones converting dollars to gold for a depletion of U.S. gold reserves.

Congress needs to study these statistics, and consult more than the theorists of aid-in-perpetuity, before moving a peg on Mr. Johnson's annual foreign aid program.

Liberals Think They Have Purer Hearts

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Even if my heart were in the right place, I could never be a liberal. It's on account of my stomach. The way that liberal writers and statesmen treat every case which pertains to their ideology causes me to retch and gag. The bilge that flows in their discussions of rights and wrongs makes me ill.

For example, there's the handling of the Kuchel case. Sen. Tom Kuchel is as nice a fellow as you'll ever meet, and I have congratulated him on the nervy way he jumped in to defend himself against erroneous charges of homosexual activity. Nobody who knows Tom believed it in the first place. It turned out to be a matter of mistaken identity on the part of two Los Angeles policemen.

But—gad! How the liberals have played it up. "A trial likely to make political history," says columnist Marquis Childs. You know—that right-wing conspiracy with its full-time preoccupation with "character assassination." You know—the acts of a couple of misguided extremists means that everybody to the right of center is in on the dirty work.

"Kuchel," writes Childs, "has long been the target in California of the extreme right," and, of course, "the latest attempt to destroy him" has something to do with California Republicans who didn't support "a meaningful resolution against discrimination in voting rights," but who did support a resolution to repeal the income tax. You can see how the logic runs. If you're a leaner toward Goldwaterism, you're inferentially in favor of smearing Kuchel. If you're not a liberal, you're a smut-heaver.

Or take the testimony of Sargent Shriver, director of the Equal Opportunity Office, when he was before a House committee to get more money for his "war on poverty." Shriver is a nice guy, too, but it's mighty hard to stomach it when he gets to blubbering and bleeding about the poor.

He was telling us the other day about a teen-ager in Arkansas learning to read from a Job Corps textbook in which the first two sentences were: "I am not an ant. I am a man." And Shriver quoted a saintly saying: "Before you go out and help the poor, you must first beg their pardon." And Shriver said that the American nation is so guilty of the existence of poverty that we should be "humbling and prostrating ourselves before our Creator" in a "national act of expiation."

Well, you see how the liberal mentality functions. It preaches a drooling self-pity to the poor. It fastens a crucifying complex of guilt upon the rest of us.

Then there's the daft notion of Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach and associated liberals that the "right to vote" is somehow on the level with the right to live, and that to ask a citizen to take literacy tests, or to comply with residence requirements, is on the same level as depriving him of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

There's not the slightest doubt that the Founders regarded voting as the privilege and duty of qualified citizens. A lot can be said for enlarging the electorate. But that's a long way from the liberal position which seems to hold that any warm body is divinely endowed with a hand to pull a voting lever.

Liberals like to think they have purer hearts than the rest of us, but all they have is stronger stomachs. Otherwise, they'd be disgusted by their own sick logic, their street corner tears and their cruel arrogance.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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Vast Unionization Drives Lie Ahead

Labor leaders are only awaiting repeal of Section 14b

By VICTOR RIESEL

Soon the Hill on which Congress rests will shake under the storm of battle over the removal of 44 words from the law of the land.

These 44 words give the states the right to outlaw labor contracts which insist that a worker join a union to keep his, or her, job.

The struggle between labor's forces in Congress and the defenders of the 44 words, officially known as Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, will become the biggest political tornado of the season.

It will be unleashed shortly when President Johnson dispatches a letter, or an official message, to the vice president and the speaker of the House, urging the end of clause 14b.

The document is ready—along with proposals for double time for overtime, extension of minimum wage of $50 a week to several million more persons than are now covered. There will also be requests for other upward revisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The President is waiting for the "decks to clear" in the Congress and for the voting scandal in the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) to fade away before he launches the action phase of his push to wipe out the controversial clause.

Few realize the size of the stakes in this contest. If the labor forces win, they will be able to divert millions of dollars from their long campaign against the "44 words" to other action—lobbying, politicking and organizing in areas the union chiefs believe they have not yet really touched. These regions are the South and the Southwest and the heartland of America centering in and around Nebraska.

Since 1947, when the Taft-Hartley Act said that "Nothing in this act shall be construed as authorizing the execution or application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any state or territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by state or territorial law" the unions spent "countless millions" fighting it.

A conservative estimate of one of labor's highest officials puts the figure at $12 million.

Others say that this estimate is merely a totaling of the "small money, the petty cash spent." They put the figure at over $25 million thrown in either in an effort to force 20 states to repeal the "right-to-work" laws or to prevent their enactment, especially in Ohio, Oklahoma and California.

But even these figures are dwarfed by reckoning of the money labor lost in the 19 states which now outlaw the union shop. Figured over a period of 18 years since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, the money lost in dues not paid by millions of workers in these 19 states could easily have come to hundreds of millions. Thus the total cost in dues to the American labor movement on national, state and local levels is incalculable.

"Countless millions" is the phrase the AFL-CIO high command uses to describe the money of which it has been "deprived" by the 14b clause.

Money is no measure of the manpower and energy expended on the running battle over almost two decades.

If 14b is repealed this money can be funneled into politics and new unionization drives. Manpower can be peeled off from the fight on right-to-work and poured into thousands of precincts.

Most of the money and manpower will be aimed at the "new frontiers" in such states as Florida, Arizona and Texas which now ban the union shop contract.

There will be a push into Mississippi, Alabama, and Nevada where the missile and space race have concentrated new installations.

It will all depend, of course, on the repeal of 14b. This will depend on how much pressure the President puts on Congress and whether the opposition can use such shenanigans as the IUE's voting as arguments against contracting workers into union shops.

If the clause is repealed, it will knock out the right-to-work laws now covering 19 states.

Will it be repealed?

The nation's labor leaders are positive it will be junked in this session of the Congress—before the end of summer at that.

If so, labor will be on the march again, making militant unionizing and political history as it once did when Walter Reuther and John Lewis marched on the mass industries.

(Distributed 1965 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.).

WHAT YOU CAN DO

House hearings on repeal of Section 14b are scheduled to begin in early May (May 10th is the probable date). Write your congressman and two senators urging them to oppose repeal of this right-to-work section of the Taft-Hartley Act.

DISAPPROVAL—A poll of his constituents by Rep. E.C. Gathings (D.-Ark.) turned up these interesting results: Two-thirds of those responding disapproved of the "Great Society" and 15 per cent couldn't make up their minds whether they liked it or not.

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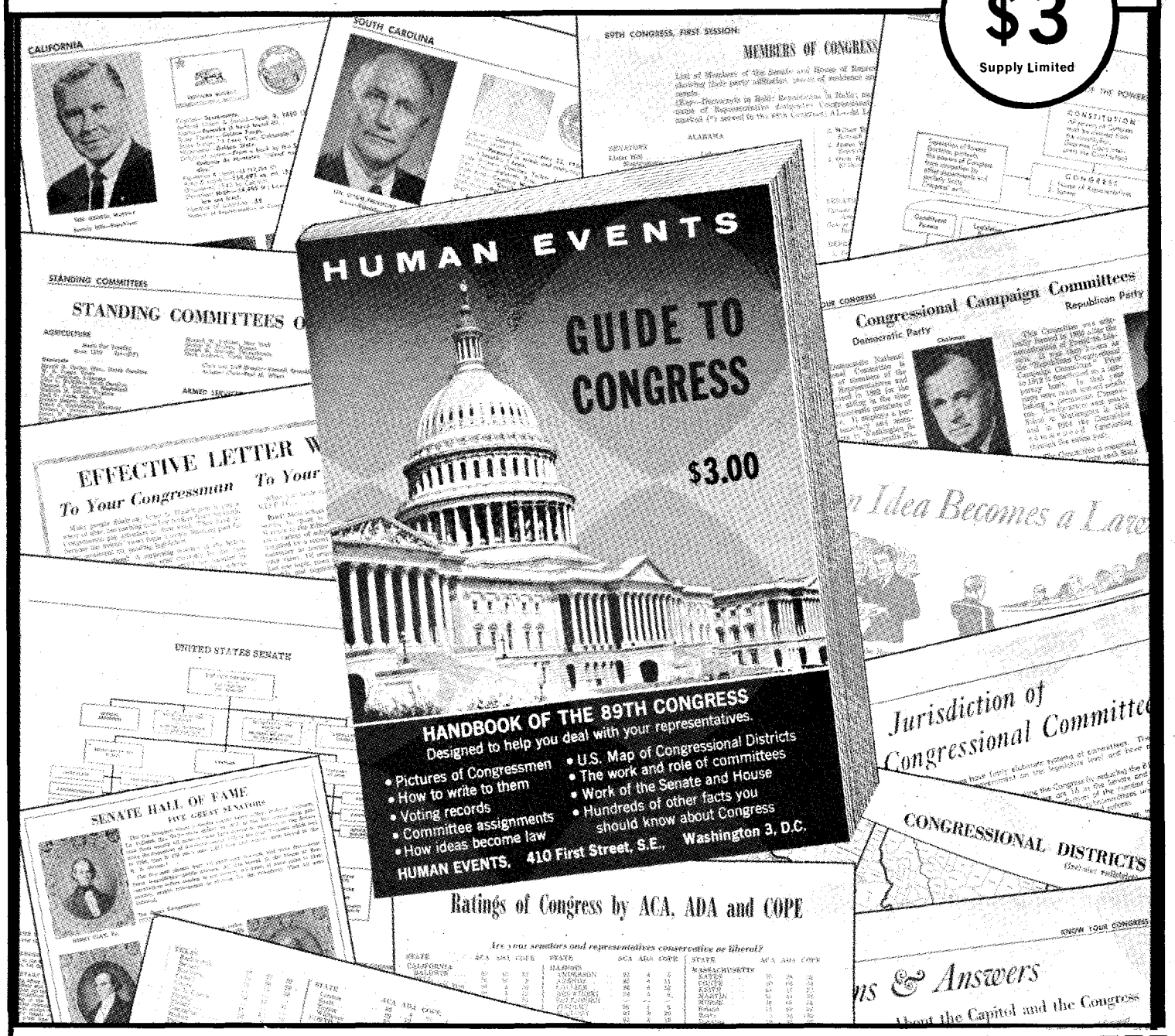
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Ray Bliss Has No Time to Waste

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

When he was the organizer of Republican victories in Ohio, Ray Bliss was not noticeably friendly toward groups that preferred to work outside the official party apparatus. Possibly they offended his sense of regularity; after all, who could tell when an Ohio conservative might momentarily turn up in Democratic Sen. Frank Lausche's pocket out of gratitude for Lausche's support of anti-Communist foreign policy positions?

In his present job as head of the Republican National Committee, Bliss hasn't yet indicated any specific attitude toward the outside-the-party conservatives on a country-wide scale. But certain commentators who like to give the impression that they get all things from the horse's mouth would have us believe that Ray Bliss hasn't changed.

One hopes that this view of Bliss is a trifle over hasty. For as Ray Bliss will soon learn, the United States is not merely Ohio multiplied by 50. Ohio happens to be a particularly well-balanced state in which Republican victories can be expected more than half the time anyway, no matter what the extra-party "muscle groups" may be doing.

It is a state, moreover, in which "labor" is less apt to be led by the nose than elsewhere. The late Sen. Taft taught the Ohio working man that legislative independence does not necessarily

Republican National Chairman Ray Bliss should spread the carpet for conservative groups outside the GOP.

lead to union-busting. Consequently such left-wing "muscle groups" as labor's COPE have to labor long and hard to swing Ohio elections.

Politically speaking, Bliss has come to Washington from a comparative Eden. But when he really digs in to discover the realities of all too many of the remaining 49 states he will surely be impressed with what the leftist outside-the-party muscle boys have done to win national victories for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

What has made the modern Democratic party such a potent instrument is its hospitality to all manner of extra-party groups. It has welcomed the "social democratic" (i.e., Socialistic) Americans for Democratic Action. The "position papers" prepared by ADAers have been accepted as the basis for foreign policy and for legislation—and one early darling of the ADA, Hubert H. Humphrey, is now vice president of the United States.

When Republican ex-Congressman from Indiana Donald Bruce says ADAers constitute the "brain" of the Democratic party even though this brain exists outside the party's body, he may be using an image that suggests an anatomical impossibility. Nevertheless, there have been times when it has been mere sober truth.

Then there are the political action groups and the committees on political "education" maintained by the labor unions. These are not official adjuncts of the Democratic party, but they work day in and day out, on a year-round basis, to promote their pet local and national legislation and their own candidates for Democratic party nomination. With the unions functioning in an extra-curricular way as fund collectors for the COPE-type "educationists," this means a plentiful supply of money which Democratic party candidates and legislators find useful.

Then there are the university faculty liberals who know how to work as if they were all instrumentalists in a great symphony orchestra. The Rostows, the Schlesingers, the Galbraiths and the Eric Goldmans blow on their woodwinds and beat their cymbals, and their music is welcomed by the Democrats all the time, not merely in the latter half of an election year.

What Ray Bliss should do as head of the Republican National Committee is to ponder the success of the Democratic party in making use of extra-party brains and extra-party "muscle." He should spread the red carpet for such fledgling conservative groups as the National Federation of Conservative Organizations in Indianapolis, Ind., and the American Conservative Union in Washington, D.C. Nor is it suggested here that he should cast a cold eye on other groups which, though proclaimedly liberal, are still sufficiently close to basic Republicanism to prefer working for their ideas through the Republican party.

Since Ray Bliss is a man to recognize "problems," there is no reason to believe that he can't make the necessary transition from Ohio to Washington. But 1966 will be on him before he knows it, and there is no time to waste.

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RELIEF COSTS—Columnist Sylvia Porter reports that 7.9 million Americans—or one in 25—are on relief, at an annual cost to the taxpayers of $4.9 billion. During the past decade, she says, relief rolls have swelled by 2.2 million and total costs have jumped 90 per cent. Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the biggest single welfare program, has more than doubled in the past 10 years—and the cost of this program alone is up 174 per cent to $1.5 billion.

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BOW MEDICAL CARE BILL—Rep. Frank T. Bow (R.-Ohio) says he will continue to push for his own "medical care" bill in preference to those currently before the Congress. Bow noted all other "medicare" proposals have "a fatal failing: they would establish giant new federal or federal-state programs that would go on forevermore, long after the problem they are supposed to cure could have cured itself." The Bow bill provides federal assistance to citizens over 65 to enable them to purchase medical care insurance of their own choice. A combination of tax credits and federal subsidies would underwrite premium payments.

Executive Power Grows

Congress Has Almost Surrendered

From the San Diego *Union*

It was a dramatic and homey touch that President Johnson added in signing the new Federal Aid to Education Bill. He did it in the little schoolhouse he attended as a boy.

To him, and in his own words, no bill he has ever signed or ever will sign will mean more to the future of the nation.

To the Republic with its divided powers, the signing also marked a significant change in the course of government. But there were no speeches on this, nor any waving of flags or flourishing of pens.

The federal government now has bridged nearly every dividing line between national and state authority in reaching down to help educate children in the lowest of grades, and in the natural course of things, to influence what is taught.

Regardless of all that will be said in defense of federal aid to education, and it can be justified on a strict basis of need, of course, the Administration has no longer any practical limitations as to its power.

There is no need that the federal government cannot find a way to fill. The Congress has almost surrendered.

This is the price the country is paying for the lopsided vote it gave the Democrats in the last election. For a time it appeared that Congress would claim its own privileges and assert its own authority, but that has almost vanished under the manipulations of the executive branch.

There were many at the last election time who saw this coming and warned the people. It was a time of great decision, when the people had to make up their minds whether they wanted a truly national government in place of the decentralization of power represented in the division of authority between Washington and the states.

The Democratic candidates refused to debate the issue. Instead, the people were given soothing assurances one day and frightened the next day by the raising of false fears of war and atom bombs.

Thus a great turning point in the course of American government came and went without any real discussion, and now we are around the bend, for better or for worse.

In the last 30 years the real power over legislation and thus over people's lives and affairs, has been shifting from Congress to the executive branch. More and more of the laws are handed to Congress, with "do pass" recommendations.

A dwindling Republican representation only makes it easier and quicker. There is one task before the Republican party that for the time being transcends all else—the rebuilding of its strength in the House and the Senate.

It would seem that since the authority of the chief executive has become so overwhelming, it is more important who sits in the White House than who sits in the House or the Senate.

But the power of the presidency has been gained at the expense of Congress. The place to begin, or at least to halt the final centralization of all political and economic authority in Washington, is in the Congress.

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DOUBLE STANDARD—Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D) has charged there is a double standard of morality among the United States' friends as well as foes. If anyone had any doubts of this, he said recently, the revelation that the United States used tear gas in Viet Nam was proof. "When it was revealed that tear gas—a weapon which is not lethal—was used, friends and enemies alike jumped all over the United States for allowing its use," Mundt said. "When the news came out that a Communist terrorist had bombed the American embassy in Saigon, killing and injuring many civilians, a good many of these same critics kept their silence . . ."

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LITTLE BY LITTLE—During the past 50 years, total government spending has increased approximately 60-fold, from about $3 billion to more than $180 billion a year. In 1913, state and local governments were spending more than twice as much as the federal government. Since then, federal spending has increased more than three times as fast. Today the federal government eats up 67.2 per cent of all taxes collected in the United States and spends 64 per cent of all public funds. Fifty years ago the reverse was true; state and local governments were raising 70.9 per cent of all public revenue and dispensing 69.8 per cent of government spending.

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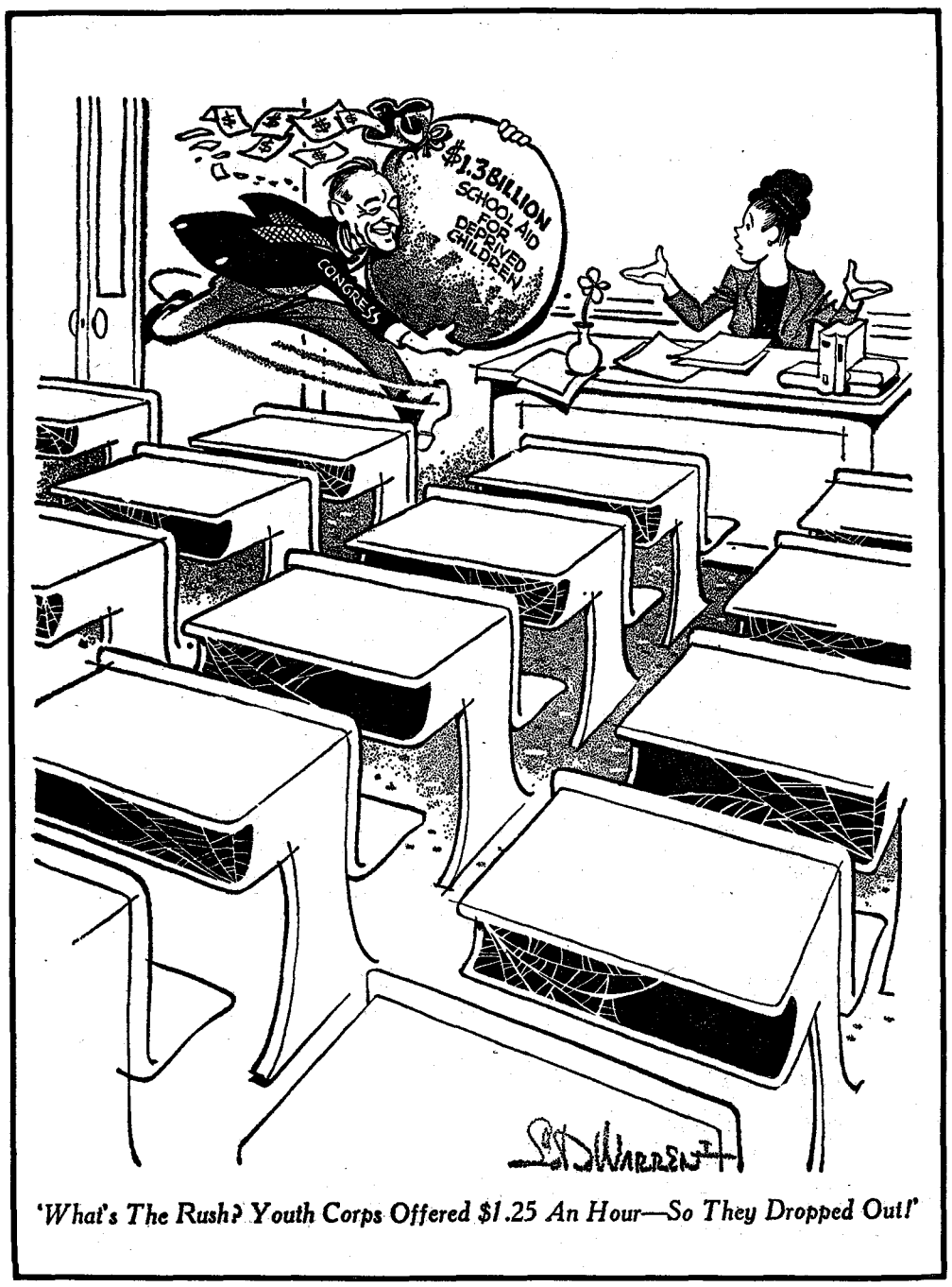

'What's The Rush? Youth Corps Offered $1.25 An Hour—So They Dropped Out!'

Courtesy the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Consumers Will Pay LBJ Farm Bill

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

The Administration's recent farm message is an admission that it has no intention of hitting at the politically explosive roots of the farm problem.

The "Great Society" is perfectly willing to put off the search for a solution another two years, and leave consumers and taxpayers to pay handsomely for the delay.

The proposal Lyndon Johnson sent Congress on April 5 would cut government costs by somewhere between $225 million and $270 million a year—but would add about $330 million a year to consumer costs.

The burden would simply be shifted from the citizen as taxpayer to the citizen as consumer—and increased considerably!

The wheat program is a case in point. Under the current price support program, a farmer is given a marketing certificate covering the portion of his crop to be consumed domestically. Processors, such as millers, are required to buy the certificates at a price set by the secretary of agriculture.

The millers in turn can pass the cost on to the consumer. That certificate price is now 75 cents a bushel. Under the Administration proposal, it is expected to rise to $1.25. A similar program would be extended to rice.

The cost to the consumer would amount to about a penny a loaf increase in the price of his bread and a few cents more per pound of rice.

Needless to say, the brunt of this hike in the price of basics would not be borne by those who can borrow $100,000 to meet their income tax payments.

The President's farm program also envisions continued supports for production of tobacco—while another branch of the federal government continues its all-out war on the menace of cigarettes.

As for cotton, the President just hemmed and hawed. Cotton currently enjoys a triple subsidy and there is talk of making it quadruple.

First the producer is subsidized; then the exporter who buys that over-priced cotton gets a subsidy so that he can sell it on the world market competitively. And last year the mills demanded and got a third subsidy because they had to compete with foreign mills which were buying cotton at world market prices, while our mills had to buy it at government overprice.

Johnson's call for continuation of the costly and discredited control-subsidy route is terribly disappointing. It indicates the President is unwilling to spend any of his prestige telling rural America some of the hard facts of life which it must one day face.

The American people, as consumers and taxpayers, deserve a farm program which looks, some day in the future, to the end of their massive subsidization of one politically powerful segment of our economy.

Private Investment Blocked

Example of Uncreative Federalism

Reprinted with permission from the *Wall Street Journal*, April 13, 1965

When President Johnson signed the bill authorizing $1.1 billion for federal programs in Appalachia, he hailed it as a true example of "creative federalism." Yet the same federalism is impeding possibly more significant developments of private enterprise in the same area.

Specifically, a private electric power company in Appalachia is ready to spend $910 million of its own money on two power projects. So far it is being held back from spending a dime by Congress and a federal agency.

For several years the Duke River Co., serving customers in North and South Carolina, has been trying to get Congress to approve a proposed $210-million power plant on the Savannah River. Federal law provides that Congress must sanction any power plant built on a navigable river or stream. Some congressmen are insisting that unless approval of a neighboring federal power project is tied to any bill allowing the Duke project, they won't vote for the latter, though it is hard to see why each should not be considered on its own merits.

The second project, in upper South Carolina, requires only a license from the Federal Power Commission. It would represent an investment of $700 million in an area now qualifying for aid-to-Appalachia funds, but the project is opposed by federally financed rural electric cooperatives on the ground that some day a federal plant might be built there (none now is planned) from which they could get preferential treatment. Meanwhile the FPC amiably has granted a delay in further hearings on the project at the request of the Interior Department, which also wants to intervene.

Moreover, the Duke projects actually involve more than the $910-million plant cost. An industry rule of thumb is that for every $1 spent to generate power in an area, another $3 is invested by industrial customers there, old and new. That new business is gained by adequate power is reflected in the company's claim that, serving 25 per cent of the Carolinas' land area, it has helped to attract 50 per cent of the states' new industries in the last five years.

So if "creative federalism" is active in Appalachia, it does not seem to be doing much for what could be, by the $3-for-$1 rule of thumb, a revenue-producing private investment of much larger scope. Surely it is a strange inconsistency when federalism—which can create nothing without first taxing the rewards of private initiative—whoops it up for a $1.1-billion handout while it lets creative business, with its own spending program potentially three times as big, go begging.

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A WORTHY RESULT—The General Accounting Office, an independent agency created by Congress in 1921 to act as a watchdog over federal spending and practices, reported in their 1964 report a savings of $294 million through spying on and correcting bad and sometimes illegal administrative practices, chiefly involving defense contracts. The remainder of the savings, about $27 million, consisted of collections and recoveries of overcharges.—Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.)

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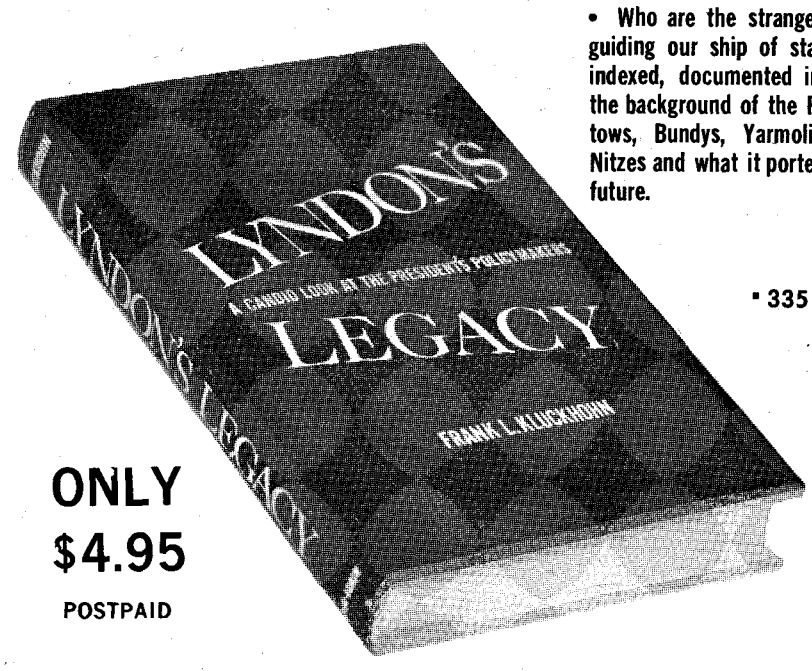

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Frank L. Kluckhohn knows Washington inside as few do. Among his important positions he has been Advisor to the first Secretary of Defense and, from 1955 to 1961, was a Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Security and Consular Affairs in the State Department. For almost 20 years he was a New York Times foreign and Washington correspondent, covering the White House for many years. During World War II he went overseas and reported on all the Allied landings, from the first one in Africa to the last in Japan. The author of America: Listen! and other books, he is now a free-lance writer whose articles have appeared in many major national magazines.

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'She Shall Overcome'

Joan Baez and Income Taxes

From the Arizona *Republic*

You have to hand it to singer Joan Baez, a reigning idol of the folkniks. If there is anything she dislikes it is paying income taxes—that is, that 60 per cent of her income tax she figures the government uses for armaments.

Therefore, for the third consecutive year she has resolutely declined to pay that portion, coupling her latest refusal with a letter to the IRS charging, "This country has gone mad. But I will not go mad with it. I will not pay for organized murder. I will not pay for the war in Viet Nam."

In previous years the government retaliated by slapping liens on her income and property, although she remains free to sing about the evils of conformity, or not being true to one's self (she and her fellow cultists are very big on both those subjects). But the federal government quickly got over its anger, and even invited her to perform at the White House.

Who knows, another couple of years of refusing to pay and she may be invited to head the proposed National Foundation in the Arts and Humanities—that is, if she can find time to squeeze it into a schedule which is overflowing with ban-the-bomb rallies, SANE conventions, and demonstrations protesting American "aggression" in using force to resist "peaceful" Communist attacks.

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Attention: Subscriber Service

U.S. Immigration Laws Are Generous and Sound

From the Dallas *Morning News*

Rep. O.C. Fisher of San Angelo, Tex., has raised valid objections to the Administration's efforts to rewrite our basic U.S. immigration law, the McCarran-Walter Act.

Appearing before the House subcommittee which has just begun holding hearings on the proposal, Fisher said that his primary objection is that the new law, which the Administration wants as a replacement for McCarran-Walter, would transfer from Congress to the executive the responsibility of determining how many immigrants would be admitted each year.

"It would give a politically appointed commission power to decide who would

Sen. Philip Hart (D.-Mich.) has introduced a bill (S. 500) which would eliminate the McCarran-Walter Act's quotas.

be admitted and from what country they would come," says Fisher. "This would create a bonanza for immigration lawyers and influence peddlers, and would not be in the public interest."

For more than a decade, the McCarran-Walter Act has kept politics out of our immigration program. If it is scrapped in favor of a law that will give political appointees the power to decide who shall be permitted to enter this country, the program very likely will be subject to manipulation for political purposes.

Since its enactment in 1952 by an overwhelming majority of both houses of Congress, the McCarran-Walter Act has been a favorite target of liberals and leftists, who charge that it fails to treat all nations alike, imposes unnecessary restrictions and is discriminatory. Actually, it is one of the most liberal immigration laws in the world.

If any nation has been fair and generous in terms of its immigration policy, it has been the United States. What other nation has thrown open its doors so wide to millions seeking liberty and opportunity? Since we began keeping tabs on immigration in 1820, this nation has admitted approximately 43 million immigrants.

The liberals who oppose the McCarran-Walter Act have complained about the alleged discrimination of its quota system—which the Administration hopes to junk under the bill (S-500) proposed on January 15 by Sen. Philip Hart (D.-Mich.)

They point to high quotas assigned to prospective immigrants from Northern Europe and the low quotas given to those from Southern Europe, Asia, Africa and elsewhere. What they fail to point out is that the quota system is by no means the only regulator of immigration.

In fact, in the last 10 years—the period during which the McCarran-Walter Act has been in effect—only one third of all immigrants have been affected by the quota system. During that 10-year period, approximately 100,000 immigrants were admitted each year under the provisions of the quota system; some 200,000 per year entered under non-quota provisions of the law.

Whatever discrimination exists in the quota system has been offset to a large degree by other provisions. For example, while the McCarran-Walter Act assigns an annual quota of only 205 immigrants from China, 185 from Japan and 100 from the Philippines—three typical quotas which the liberals frequently cite as evidence of the law's discrimination—the actual number of immigrants admitted each year over the past decade has averaged 3,274 from China, 4,467 from Japan and 1,809 from the Philippines.

The liberals are also fond of pointing out that Ireland's quota (17,756 per year) is more than three times as large as Italy's (5,666).

What they don't point out is that, in the past decade, the actual number of immigrants from Italy (an average of 18,700 per year) has been almost three times as large as the actual number of immigrants from Ireland (6,455 per year). Similarly, while Sweden's quota is nearly eight times as large as Portugal's—which the liberals say is evidence of discrimination against Portugal—the record shows that we have admitted more immigrants from Portugal than from Sweden in the last decade.

Our basic immigration law, the McCarran-Walter Act, has been fair, generous and sound. Members of Congress would be wise to pay attention to the record and give careful study to the facts, instead of listening to the emotional arguments of those who would junk that law.

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"ONE OF OUR MAIN OBJECTIONS to the proposed immigration law revision stems from the vast power it would give the President. S. 500 provides that up to 10 per cent of the quota reserve pool could be set aside by the President for the admission of refugees. It also provides that up to 30 per cent of the quota reserve pool could be set aside by the President to deal with hardship cases. There are times when the United States wants to throw open its doors for unusual numbers of immigrants. The Hungarian revolt against Russia was such an occasion. So was the flight from Cuba when Castro came to power. On both occasions Congress passed the needed laws to take care of the unusual demands. It can do so again when new crises arise. Such decisions should be made by the Congress, which is close to the people. A President may have international fish to fry."—From the Arizona *Republic*

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"For good or bad, this 89th Congress is proving to be a 'rubber-stamp Congress' such as we experienced in the days of President Roosevelt's New Deal."—Rep. Leslie C. Arends (R.-Ill.)

Peanut Butter

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

For four years there has been an effort on the part of the government to set standards for peanut butter. There has been general objection on the ground that the proposed rules would reduce quality, and stifle efforts to produce a more tasty product. One lad wrote a letter expressing his opinion as follows: "I am 11 years old and I love peanut butter very much. I would be happy if the government kept its peanut-picking hands out of the jar."

More 'Progress'

By REP. O. C. FISHER (D.-Tex.)

Vice President Hubert Humphrey told the Editors' Convention in Washington recently that a dozen more "progressive" bills will be enacted before the session ends. This includes a housing measure that will curl your hair. For the first time in American history the White House is asking for direct rent subsidies to people making from $3,000 to $6,000 a year. It is estimated that five hundred thousand of these people would get $40 a month from their Uncle Sam to apply on their rent bills each month! But this is to be a mere beginning. There are 4 million families in this category. If it's good for one, it's good for all of them. A constituent recently wrote me: "We already have a 'Great Society.' What we have to do now is try to find a way to pay for it."

Foreign Aid Agency

By REP. EDWARD J. GURNEY (R.-Fla.)

In its turbulent history, the agency has had many names and 11 directors. The name keeps changing, but the game is the same. Pour your tax dollars down the drain, it seems. The middle name for this agency doesn't change, however. It is still WASTE, spelled with capital letters.

Buying Peace

By REP. GLENN DAVIS (R.-Wis.)

In our early history, when we were much smaller and much weaker; when international bandits sought to exact tribute from our government as the price for behaving themselves and leaving our shipping and our seamen alone, our proud reaction was "Millions for defense. . .not one cent for tribute!" How now, in 1965? A few weeks ago, the President said about Southeast Asia, "Listen, we can't negotiate with these people." Now, our official attitude has changed to: "Come, let us reason. Be good. . . let us alone in Viet Nam, and we will cut you in on a billion dollars." Who was it who coined the phrase "Dollar Diplomacy"?

Aid to Asia

By REP. THOMAS PELLY (R.-Wash.)

We should have long since discovered that money does not buy friends. We have already expended $7.7 billion in Southeast Asia—without winning friends or influencing people.

Budget Myths

By SEN. GORDON ALLOTT (R.-Colo.)

I feel we should explode the myth that the 1966 budget calls for increases in future spending all up and down the line. There are 215 budget items that are increases; however, about 70 result automatically from completion of projects or programs, or from transfers of funds between programs, or from other bookkeeping transactions. . .leaving about 55 items of actual reductions against more than 200 increases in appropriation requests. The fact is that new programs proposed for 1966 require initial appropriations of $3.2 billion. However, of this amount only $920 million is reflected in spending proposed for 1966. The $3 billion difference represents built-in growth in spending which will be reflected in budgets for future years.

Lucky Dropouts

BY SEN. THRUSTON B. MORTON (R.-Ky.)

Recruits in the U.S. Army are now paid $78 a month. After four months their pay may be as much as $112.80. But school dropouts in Los Angeles, whose task will be to replace the card holders in the city library's books with plastic ones, will be compensated at $1.27 an hour. On the basis of a 40-hour week, that amounts to $203 per month. The Johnson Administration, it appears, fosters the concept that a young person who pursues education too far cripples his chances in the burgeoning field of relief.

Me and My Shadow Courtesy Indianapolis *News*

The Hand of Federal Control

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Thompson, Iowa, is a thriving rural town of some 700 population. In Thompson, as in much of northern Iowa, there are many industrious, thrifty citizens of Scandinavian origin whose ancestors came to this country as a land of freedom and opportunity—to escape the autocratic controls of the old world.

REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Thompson, Iowa, has its own small library, supported by the townspeople. It did not wait for a handout from Washington to provide, insofar as a library could do so, for the enlightenment of its citizens of all ages. Now comes the federal government reaching into the community with an insidious hand in an attempt to inflict its controls.

Early this year, the Des Moines, Iowa, director of the Iowa State Traveling Library wrote to Mrs. Theodore Klemesrud, chairman of the Thompson Library Board, demanding that she sign and return by March 3, 1965, an "assurance of compliance" statement that the Thompson Library would conform to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Failure to do so, Mrs. Klemesrud was told, would deprive the Thompson Library of any federal funds or services, or services of the state traveling library.

To their everlasting credit, Mrs. Klemesrud and the library board have refused to be blackjacked. "We have no Negroes here but if we did we would gladly serve them," said Mrs. Klemesrud. "As it is we have a nice library, are supported by our town funds and we don't need federal funds. We are afraid of what this implies."

The real point at issue here is not alone the slimy hand of federal control—it is the vital principle of the citizens of Thompson, Iowa, being made to absolve themselves of the alleged guilt of discrimination—a presumption of guilt upon a totally innocent people.

Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, no longer are citizens of the United States presumed to be innocent until proven guilty. That is one of the several reasons why this member of Congress voted against passage of the act last year.

This is but one of the many ways in which the all-powerful central government in Washington is eroding the freedom and moral fibre of a once proud nation. Let us hope the revulsion will come soon, for the hour is late.

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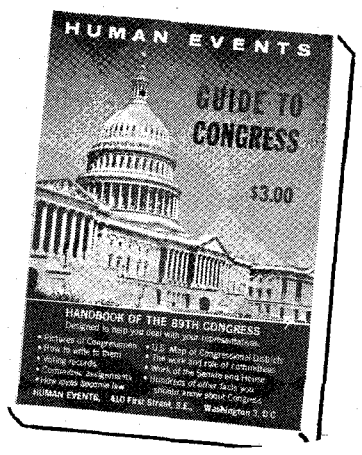

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